

THE QUINTESSENCE OF NEHRU

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Selected and with Introduction
by
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Ruskin House

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD
MUSEUM STREET • LONDON

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgments are made to the following for granting permission for reproducing extracts from the following books :

Messrs Secker & Warburg Ltd., London and Mr. Tibor Mende in respect of selections from *Conversations With Mr. Nehru*; The Asia Publishing House, Bombay for extracts from *A Bunch of Old Letters*; Messrs Meridian Books Ltd., for selections from *The Discovery of India*; The Signet Press, Calcutta for extracts from *The Discovery of India* and *Nehru on Gandhi*; Messrs George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London for selections from *India and the World*; Messrs John Lane, The Bodley Head, London for selections from *An Auto-biography*; Chetana Ltd., Bombay for extracts from *Soviet Russia*; the Government of India for selections from *Independence and After, Speeches 1949-53*, and *Speeches (1953-57)*; the proprietors of *The Hindu*, Madras for extracts from speeches reported therein.

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P R E F A C E

I do not think any apology is needed for the publication of a book of this kind containing the best selections from the writings and speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. I have attempted herein to give an idea of the many facets of his fascinating personality—as a statesman and scholar, as a leader of his people loved next only to Mahatma Gandhi, as a torchbearer of freedom to the oppressed everywhere, as a lover of nature and of children. Like his great master he is interested in everything that contributes towards the welfare and happiness of his fellowmen, whether in his own country or in the farthest corners of the globe. He has dedicated himself to the service of humanity and stands out head and shoulders above the politicians and the statesmen of the world today. If this book serves as a key to the rich treasure house of Jawaharlal Nehru's wisdom and achievement, my purpose in editing it will have been amply fulfilled.

I express my gratitude to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru for his kind permission to make this selection from his writings and speeches.

K. T. NARASIMHA CHAR

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<i>Autobiography</i>	1936
<i>India and the World</i>	1936
<i>The Unity of India</i>	1944
<i>The Discovery of India</i>	1946
<i>Independence and After</i>	1949
<i>Nehru on Gandhi</i>	1949
<i>Speeches 1949-53</i>	1954
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Introduction

It is a truism of history that no great king of a country has been followed by an equally able son, no great leader of a nation has left a worthy disciple to fulfil his ideals. Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander the Great afford an exception to this in the past while the case Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru is another in recent times. Yet the contrast between the master and the follower as well as the common traits in their character are too remarkable to pass unnoticed—in their mental make-up, in their attitude to life, in their approach to the problems of humanity. Mahatma Gandhi was a man devoutly wedded to the ideals of ancient India, drawing his inspiration from them throughout his life and career, pointing to his people that the path to freedom lay only through Truth and Non-violence. Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, is a product of Harrow and Cambridge; his outlook on life is more intellectual than spiritual, though he also adheres to the great principles preached and practised by his master: a scientific background is evident from his ideas, hardly inspired by a fond clinging to the past. Yet it must not be thought that Jawaharlal Nehru was chosen by the gods to become the disciple of Mahatma Gandhi by sheer accident or that the exigencies of India's struggle for freedom catapulted him into power and authority. For he is in every sense of the term the spiritual and political heir of Mahatma Gandhi, trained through years of apprenticeship under the guiding eye of the master, treading his path of truth and non-violence whatever the cost. The murder of Mahatma Gandhi by a misguided maniac in the evening of January 30, 1948 made him cry out in agony, 'The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere'.¹

The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru is as revealing as Mahatma Gandhi's *The Story of My Experiments With Truth*. Both master and disciple lay bare to us the inmost

¹ *Independence and After*, p. 17

recesses of their hearts, they give us a glimpse of their souls' pain at the sight of their countrymen smarting under subjection. They are both of the opinion that the future of humanity is dark indeed, unless imperialism and colonialism, whether in Asia or in Africa, are ended; that the only hope for world peace is through non-violence; that civilization can be saved only by the big nations giving up their race for power.

A passionate worker for world peace, Jawaharlal Nehru enthusiastically supports the ideals of the United Nations Organization. Addressing them on November 3, 1948 he reminded them that means are always as important as ends. 'It is important that we should remember', he told the General Assembly of the UNO at Paris in 1948, 'that the best of objectives may not be reached if our eyes are bloodshot and our minds clouded with passion'.¹ It is his deep yearning for peace that has enabled him, as India's foreign minister, to keep his country strictly to a middle course without siding with any power blocs, and also to offer effectually India's mediation in Korea and in Indo-China. Coming nearer home, he has kept the Kashmir controversy and the Goa problem still to be settled only by peaceful means. India's neutrality, he declares, will not continue in the face of any onslaught on her freedom or on those fundamental human rights of other nations. 'We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom', he said in his address to the United States Congress on October 13, 1949, 'from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for, and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way, is an abounding faith in peace, and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it'.² By his ardent pursuit of the policy of non-alignment among the power blocs of the West on the one hand and his dauntless espousal of the cause of all people hungering for liberty on the other, he has raised India high in the comity of nations. Jawaharlal Nehru wound up the Afro-Asiatic Conference at Bandung in April, 1955 by asserting that the co-existence of nations, big and small,

¹ *idem*, p. 319

² *Speeches* (1949-53), p. 125

was possible only if they followed the ideals of peace among men and goodwill among the nations of the world embodied in *Panch Shila*.

We see in Jawaharlal Nehru's thinking a strange combination of the ideas of the East and of the West. His education in England during the most impressionable years of his life has left an indelible mark on his personality. He is out of date with old Indian beliefs and superstitions while he extols the ideals that made India great in the past and have helped her to survive the onslaughts of time, keeping her spirit radiant and serene. 'Essentially I am interested in this world', he says, 'in this life, not in some other world, or a future life. Whether there is such a thing as a soul, or whether there is a survival after death or not, I do not know and, important as these questions are, they do not trouble me in the least'.¹ Though a staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi, he is not fascinated by the idea of asceticism or renunciation. 'I have no liking or attraction for the ascetic view of life', he frankly confesses, 'the negation of life, the terrified absention from its joys and sensations'.² He prefers the active virtues, he says, to the passive ones. And what remarkable activity, mental and physical, marks his life if we remember that he completed the psalmist's span of three score and ten years on November 14, 1959!

Jawaharlal Nehru's education in England accounts for his realistic approach to the problems of life and his scientific attitude of mind. He will fight for his country's freedom against the British rulers in India but he cannot forget what he owes to his English training or ways of thought. 'Personally I owe too much to England in my mental make-up ever to feel wholly alien to her', he frankly avows, 'and do what I will, I cannot get rid of the habits of mind, and the standards and the ways of judging other countries as well as life generally, which I acquired at school and college in England'.³ It is this again that makes him realize how much English language and literature have meant to India and her people, though he is a passionate believer in the resurgence of the Indian languages and in their replacing English in

¹ *The Discovery of India*, pp. 15-16

² *Autobiography*, p. 205

³ *Ibid*, p. 419

the near future. Nor does he forget the deep debt of gratitude that Mahatma Gandhi and Aurobindo Ghose, Rabindranath Tagore and Radhakrishnan owe to English or that they drew their inspiration as much from the teachings of Burke and Mill, Ruskin and Tolstoy, Lincoln and Thoreau as from the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavad-gita* and the gospel of Buddha. He always impresses on his countrymen the need for a spirit of restraint in the solution of problems, both at home and abroad; his success in this direction has enabled him to see that India continues to be a member of the Commonwealth.

'Patriotism is no longer enough; we want something higher, wider and nobler.'¹ A lover of his country, proud of her past, eagerly looking forward to an equally splendid future for her, he is no narrow nationalist as most politicians and patriots tend to become. To him the whole of humanity is one; the denial of freedom to a people whether in Indonesia or in Israel, makes him take up their cause with the same fervour with which he fought for India's freedom. 'What are we interested in world affairs for?' he asks. 'We seek no domination over any country. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of any country, domestic or other. Our main stake in world affairs is peace, to see that there is racial equality and that people who are still subjugated should be free. For the rest we do not desire to interfere in world affairs and we do not desire that other people should interfere in our affairs. If, however, there is interference, whether military, political, or economic, we shall resist it.'² His faith in man is equalled by his faith in the ability of every nation to make its own worthy contribution to the progress of mankind. 'Faith in progress, in a cause, in ideals, in human goodness and in human destiny', he asks, 'are they not nearly allied to a faith in Providence?'³ Intensely proud as he is of India, Jawaharlal Nehru will, perhaps, feel it a greater honour to be called a 'Citizen of the World', for his ideal is One World, his fight is for human freedom everywhere, his deification is of the dignity of man!

It is his identification with the interests and welfare of

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 414

² *Independence and After*, p. 242

³ *Autobiography*, p. 477

mankind in general that makes Jawaharlal Nehru hate the idea of India becoming insular, now that she is independent. He wants her to keep her doors open so that the winds of knowledge and culture may be wafted across the seas to her shores to enrich her children, even as in past centuries men from Greece and Rome came to her temples of learning and took back with them rare treasures of illumination for mind and soul. 'In every matter, be it education, science or culture or anything', he declares, 'I dislike nothing so much as the narrowly nationalistic approach which makes us think that we have attained the summit of wisdom and that we need not learn anything . . . I am all for opening out our minds to every kind of knowledge or information that can be obtained'.¹

A man of vision and wisdom, Jawaharlal Nehru can never subscribe to the doctrine that the end justifies the means. 'A worthy end should have worthy means leading up to it. That seemed not only a good ethical doctrine but sound, practical politics, for the means that are not good often defeat the end in view and raise new problems and difficulties. And then it seemed so unbecoming, so degrading to the self-respect of an individual or a nation to submit to such means, to go through the mire. How can we march ahead swiftly and with dignity if we stoop or crawl?'² Again and again he tells his audiences, both in India and abroad, that this principle of right means leading up to right results should be adopted in international relations also.

A lover of nature and of the outdoor life, his constant visits to prison, in the cause of his country's freedom, makes him muse on the problems of life and gives him leisure to write his books. He has an abundant zest for life and enjoys every moment of his busy and active existence, whether he is doing the *shirasaasana* in the privacy of his chamber, or is out riding in the hills and dales of Mussoorie or holidaying amidst the calm majesty of Himalayan peaks, rapt in wonder at the beauties of nature. But he is not a materialist nor a follower of the epicurean philosophy of life. To him life is a glorious adventure of absorbing interest, wherein every man has an opportunity of growing up morally and

¹ *Speeches* (1949-53), p. 70

² *Autobiography*, p. 73

spiritually, of gathering wisdom, and of giving his utmost to his fellowmen. 'The real problems for me remain problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of a proper balancing of an individual's inner and outer life, of an adjustment of the relations between individuals and between groups, of a continuous becoming something higher and nobler, of the ceaseless adventure of man.'¹ In his estimation life, in spite of all its evils, is full of beauty and joy, and nature is an enchanted world by itself.

Nor is he bothered about the existence or non-existence of God. He is, however, conscious of the mystery of life and is aware of the awful workings of fate with individuals and with nations; for, according to him, even the freedom of India is the result of 'a tryst made with destiny' long years ago.² 'What the mysterious is I do not know', he confesses, 'I do not call it God because God has come to mean much that I do not believe in. I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown or supreme power in anthropomorphic terms, and the fact that many people think so is continually a source of surprise to me. Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me.'³ Hence some have doubted if he is an atheist but his whole philosophy of life is coloured by a boundless faith in Providence.

Though born and bred in luxury and wealth, Jawaharlal Nehru has a genuine love and sympathy for the poor. He is deeply interested in the common people, their way of life, their problems and pursuits, and has dedicated himself to the uplift of the underdog. Today when he is travelling from one part of the country to another, thousands will walk many miles from their villages to catch a glimpse of their beloved leader. The writer has been present at some of the mammoth gatherings addressed by the Indian Prime Minister in the big cities of India, the audience numbering half a million or more, and can testify to the fact that it consisted of every strata of Indian society—mill workers and millionaires, men and women, the young and the old, all eager to see and hear the words of wisdom from this

¹ *The Discovery of India*, p. 20

² *Independence and After*, p. 3

³ *The Discovery of India*, pp. 16-17

worthy disciple of the great master who brought them freedom.

Jawaharlal Nehru always thinks in terms of humanity, not of his country or of his people alone, and this marks him out as a world statesman. For his ideal is 'One World', wherein the big nations and the small, the East and the West, shall march hand in hand to build the kingdom of heaven on earth. His love for humanity is equalled only by his great humility. He considers his visit to the United States of America in 1949 'a voyage of discovery'. He tells his audiences in that great democracy of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, that he desires to add to his knowledge and to convey to them the message of peace and love of Mahatma Gandhi. 'I have come here to improve my own education and to learn something about America and about the world through American eyes.'¹

A passionate faith in democracy colours his thoughts and ideas. To him democracy in practice does not mean the stifling of the voice of the minority by a majority through its sheer voting strength. 'Democracy means tolerance, tolerance not merely of those who agree with us, but of those who do not agree with us.'² His concept of freedom is not confined to political rights only but also embraces everything that contributes towards human welfare and happiness. 'True freedom is not merely political but must also be economic and spiritual. Only then can man grow and fulfil his destiny.'³ With this objective he has dedicated his life and labours to the building up of a socialistic pattern of society in India. But his efforts in this direction have met with severe criticism from no less a leader than Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, the doyen among the disciples of Mahatma Gandhi and India's last Governor-General. He thinks that the implementation by Jawaharlal Nehru of his socialistic policy through the recent introduction of co-operative farming will tend to make India a totalitarian State. Rajagopalachari apprehends that this and similar programmes will strike a death-blow to the individuality of man, turning the

¹ *Speeches (1949-53)*, p. 117

² *Independence and After*, p. 13

³ *Speeches (1949-53)*, p. 422

hard-won freedom of Indians into something insecure and insubstantial.

Jawaharlal Nehru differs strongly from Mahatma Gandhi in his attitude towards the industrialization of India. While his master laid emphasis on a simple life according to nature, his disciple is all for raising the standard of living of the people and providing them with the amenities of modern civilization. 'Present-day civilization is full of evils but it is also full of good; and it has the capacity in it to rid itself of those evils. To destroy it root and branch is to remove that capacity from it and to revert to a dull, sunless and miserable existence. We cannot stop the river of change or cut ourselves adrift from it, and psychologically we who have eaten of the apple of Eden cannot forget the taste and go back to primitiveness.'¹ Hence it is that he has an abounding faith in industrialization being the surest means for the rapid progress and prosperity of India. But he will not let machinery displace human labour to its detriment and risk the increase of unemployment. 'Our economic programme must be based on a human outlook', he declared in his Presidential Address at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress in 1929, 'and must not sacrifice, men to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, the industry must close down'.² To implement these ideas he has embarked, as Chairman of the Planning Commission, on the complete industrialization of India in the course of time. There have been doubts expressed about the success of the Five Year Plans so far, but the schemes envisaged in these bear testimony to his desire to harness the latest scientific and technical knowledge to build a Welfare State in India.

'There are few persons in India, I suppose', he asserts with legitimate pride, 'whether they are Indians or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voices against Fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them'.³ Though he may be an admirer of some of the achievements of the Russian people in recent times, he has never loved the Communist way of

¹ *Autobiography*, p. 511

² *India and The World*, p. 30

³ *The Unity of India*, p. 397

life and thought. He condemns the Indian Communists for drawing their inspiration from beyond the borders of India. The violence that is inherent in the ideals of communism is abhorrent to him, as a lover of freedom and a champion of democracy. 'I believed more and more in Socialism. More and more even in some parts of communism, not the action part but the theory part of it. . . . I always conditioned it that the methods should be peaceful, broadly speaking peaceful, and not wrong. . . . But I am deeply convinced that the methods employed in certain communist societies, that is too much coercion and suffering, are not the right methods.'¹

It has been remarked by responsible persons in India—and such criticism is just—that Jawaharlal Nehru has not trained a second line of leadership, so that one among them may take his place when the time comes. Among such critics is Jaya Prakash Narayan, whose services and sacrifices in the cause of the freedom of India are equalled only by that of Jawaharlal Nehru. In a recent interview published in *The Times*, London, Jaya Prakash Narayan is reported to have said 'He (Nehru) is like a large tree. The shadow is very comforting but nothing grows under it.'² It must also be remembered that the difficulty of finding an answer to the question 'After Nehru, who?' is coupled with that to the query, 'After Nehru, what?' The problems of the great sub-continent, just learning its first lessons in parliamentary democracy, are too many and too varied to be solved by a person of average integrity or ordinary calibre. Jawaharlal Nehru cannot afford to leave India's future to be decided by mere force of circumstances; he has to train a worthy successor who will take the torch of leadership from his hands at the opportune time.

Though Jawaharlal Nehru has been Prime Minister of India continuously for nearly fifteen years, he has often been criticized for failure to follow a strong and firm policy either in India or in international affairs. While some of his political opponents point their fingers at him as a Hamlet, there are others who attribute to him the desire to be a Hitler. An aristocrat by birth and a democrat by training,

¹ *Conversations with Mr. Nehru*, pp. 31-32

² *The Hindu*, Madras December 8, 1959

he has always followed the middle path; the result has been that at times he has not succeeded in satisfying either his admirers or his adversaries in the context of the complications of Indian politics since independence or his country's relations with other nations. His policy, however, has steadily raised his stature as a statesman and given India a dominating position among world nations.

A love for the ideals of socialism and a longing to build the India of his dreams on a socialistic basis runs like a thread throughout his life and thought. Socialism appeals to him 'as a philosophy of life'¹ and is, in his estimation, 'the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems'.² He states that he was drawn towards socialism from his younger days. 'I have been and am a convinced socialist and believer in democracy', he declares, 'and have at the same time accepted whole-heartedly the peaceful technique of non-violent action which Gandhiji has practised so successfully during the past twenty years'.³ A classless society, according to him, should be our ultimate aim wherein all shall have equality of opportunity and economic justice, 'a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possible, forcibly if necessary'.⁴

No estimate of Jawaharlal Nehru will be complete without an assessment of him as an author and writer. Many Indians have won unstinted praise at the hands of Western *litterateurs* for their conspicuous ability to speak and write the Queen's English. Jawaharlal is one more of that select band who mastered a foreign language and made their inmost thoughts known to the world in a manner worthy of the great ones of English literature. His *Letters From A Father To His Daughter*, which were originally addressed by him from prison to his daughter Indira and enlarged

¹ *India and The World*, p. 82

² *Ibid*, p. 82

³ *The Unity of India*, p. 134

⁴ *Autobiography*, pp. 551-52

later into his *Glimpses of World History* meant for all children, appeals also to adults in equal degree. 'A very magnificent affair from the point of view of book production', says Roger Baldwin in a letter to the author on the publication of its first edition in England, 'and an equally magnificent affair from the point of view of scholarly research and arresting presentation'.¹ His comments on life and events as he paints the pageant of man's story across the ages are as interesting as they are illuminating; and even here he gives us some personal glimpses of himself and his reaction to the forces that went to the making of the history of nations. 'I believe', says Mulk Raj Anand, 'that the prisoner in the little jail in Uttar Pradesh was also seeking, through the writing of history, to integrate his own personality with the events of the past of India as well as into the events which were shaping her present and her future'.²

Of his *Autobiography* Aldous Huxley said: 'For those who would understand contemporary India it is an indispensable book.' It is not only an account, intimate and graphic, of India's struggle for freedom but also a revelation of Jawaharlal Nehru, the man, who loves India and her ancient ideals while condemning her old traditions and beliefs, whose sympathy is all for his countrymen sunk in ignorance and poverty because of their subjection, whose ambition is to build a new India on modern foundations without giving up what is precious and permanent in her past heritage and keeping the soul of India youthful and radiant, ever intent on the eternal things of the spirit. *The Unity of India*, which contains his writings and speeches during the Second World War, gives us his reactions to contemporary trends of thought and action in India and abroad. Here we see the author again and again presenting India's case for freedom and condemning both Fascism and Nazism which devastated the world during their brief but inglorious regime and proved once again the truth of Jesus Christ's immortal words: 'Those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword.'

Jawaharlal Nehru's last great book, *The Discovery of India*, is in some ways more remarkable as a revelation of

¹ *A Bunch of Old Letters*, p. 387

² *A Study of Nehru*, p. 351

his personality than even his *Autobiography*. Here we see a mind more mature, a man who has experienced life more intensely, an individual who has seen the infinite variety of the world and its ways, a critic of man's achievements through the ages and of his triumphs and his tears. In this book he seeks to 'discover' the soul of India, as he says, analyses the spiritual basis of her culture and civilization and asserts that she has been untouched by the tornado of time that tears up men and nations ruthlessly unless they live according to the immutable laws ordained by God. And in the process he discovers himself to us often, condemning old superstitions and outworn creeds that still hold millions of his countrymen in their grip, while he reveals an intense desire to reconcile ancient Indian ideals with modern thought.

Perhaps the best summing up of Jawaharlal Nehru's place in the world today and the noblest tribute yet paid to him was contained in the citation on the occasion of the conferment of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on him at Columbia University by its then President, General Dwight D. Eisenhower :

'Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, foremost disciple of the great apostle of Indian freedom, indomitable leader of his people along the thorny path of liberation, wise counsellor and moulder of policies of a reborn nation, renowned interpreter of the aspirations of a great race, his intellectual leadership has combined the profound knowledge of the West with the great heritage and enduring traditions of the East; a champion of under-privileged people, his devotion to the noble ideals of universal peace and understanding have won for him the respect and acclaim of all mankind.'

Myself

I WAS AN ONLY SON

An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India. And when that son happens to have been an only child for the first eleven years of his existence there is little hope for him to escape this spoiling. My two sisters are very much younger than I am, and between each two of us, there is a long stretch of years. And so I grew up and spent my early years as a somewhat lonely child with no companions of my age. I did not even have the companionship of children at school for I was not sent to any kindergarten or primary school. Governesses or private tutors were supposed to be in charge of my education.

Autobiography, p. 1.

ATTITUDE TO LIFE IN MY YOUTH

My general attitude to life at the time was a vague kind of cyrenaicism, partly natural to youth, partly the influence of Oscar Wilde and Walter Pater. It is easy and gratifying to give a long Greek name to the desire for a soft life and pleasant experiences. But there was something more in it than that for I was not particularly attracted to a soft life. Not having the religious temper and disliking the repressions of religion, it was natural for me to seek some other standard. I was superficial and did not go deep down into anything. And so the aesthetic side of life appealed to me, and the idea of going through life worthily, not indulging it in the vulgar way, but still making the most of it and living a full and many-sided life attracted me. I enjoyed life and I refused to see why I should consider it a thing of sin. At the same time risk and adventure fascinated me; I was always, like my father, a bit of a gambler, at first with money and then for higher stakes, with the bigger issues of life.

Autobiography, p. 20.

EARLY INFLUENCE OF GANDHIJI

The effect of Gandhiji on me in the early days was to simplify my life very much. I gave up smoking, for instance. I did not smoke for five or six years. I think that this was not just to make myself better, but for three reasons. One was that I thought I was wasting money. India is a poor country. This little money that I spend can be better utilized. Secondly, a sense of discipline: why am I a slave to habit? Thirdly, if I dislike smoking in public, why should I do it in private? That is, I did not want to smoke in public, in a crowd, so it was not truthful to do something in secret that I did not want to do in public.

Conversations With Mr. Nehru, p. 30.

I AM A CHILD OF PRESENT-DAY CIVILIZATION

We are all products of this age with the characteristics of our generation, equally entitled to credit or blame. Certainly I am as much a part of this civilization, that I both appreciate and criticize, as any one else, and my habits and ways of thought are conditioned by it.

The Discovery of India, p. 676.

MY PROBLEMS

The real problems for me remain problems of individual and social life, of harmonious living, of a proper balancing of an individual's inner and outer life, of an adjustment of the relations between individuals and between groups, of a continuous becoming something better and higher, of social development, of the ceaseless adventure of man. In the solution of these problems the way of observation and precise knowledge and deliberate reasoning, according to the method of science, must be followed. This method may not always be applicable in our quest of truth, for art and poetry and certain psychic experiences seem to belong to a different order of things and to elude the objective methods of science. Let us therefore not rule out intuition and other methods of sensing truth and reality. They are necessary even for the purposes of science. But always we must hold to our anchor of precise objective knowledge

tested by reason and even more so by experiment and practice, and always we must beware of losing ourselves in a sea of speculation unconnected with the day-to-day problems of life and the needs of men and women. A living philosophy must answer the problems of today.

The Discovery of India, p. 20.

I AM NO PHILOSOPHER

I do not claim to be a philosopher or an expert in any of the subjects you have mentioned. Some of the subjects are perhaps rather beyond me. Others, I would only deal with in a somewhat superficial way, that is, in so far as they affect my immediate problems in India. I have no general remedy for the world's ills, nor do I feel myself competent to deal with them.

Conversations With Mr. Nehru, p. 5.

INDIA IS PART OF MY BEING

India was in my blood and there was much in her that instinctively thrilled me. And yet I approached her almost as an alien critic, full of dislike for the present as well as for many of the relics of the past that I saw. To some extent I came to her via the West and looked at her as a friendly Westerner might have done. I was eager and anxious to change her outlook and appearance and give her the garb of modernity. And yet doubts rose within me. Did I know India, I who presumed to scrap much of her past heritage? There was a great deal that had to be scrapped, that must be scrapped but surely India could not have been what she undoubtedly was, and could not have continued a cultured existence for thousands of years, if she had not possessed something very vital and enduring, something that was worthwhile. What was this something?

The Discovery of India, p. 42.

I HATE SLUMS

I have a horror of slums. I don't mind a person living in the open like a vagabond or a gipsy. I am a bit of a vaga-

bond myself, and I like vagabonds and gipsies. I don't mind a person living in a mud hut. But I do mind slums in cities; and I have often said if you cannot provide buildings for those dwelling in slums, give them an open space to live in, and give them at least some social services, like good sanitation and water supply. The rest will follow.

Speeches (1953-57) p. 466: from speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new Corporation Building at Bangalore, October 6, 1955.

I DON'T WANT TO BE CONSIDERED ONLY AS A PRIME MINISTER

I am something other than a Prime Minister, too. I am also a human being. Often I find myself struggling for some light, for a vision of what one should do, for a glimpse of the truth and of the pathway to the truth.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 370-1: from address at the UNESCO Indian National Commission, New Delhi, March 24, 1951.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as a Prime Minister of a great country or a politician, but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find the way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that I have held.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 395: from address on the occasion of the conferment on him of the Degree of Doctor of Laws at Columbia University, New York, October 17, 1949.

AM I A SOCIALIST OR AN INDIVIDUALIST?

Am I a socialist or an individualist? Is there a necessary contradiction in the terms? Are we all such integrated human beings that we can define ourselves precisely, in a word or a phrase? I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist, whatever all this might mean. I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality; indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural

bondage. But I am a dull subject to discuss, especially at the tail end of an inordinately long letter. Let us leave it at this, that I am an unsatisfactory human being who is dissatisfied with himself and the world, and whom the petty world he lives in does not particularly like.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 353: from letter to Subhas Chandra Bose, dated April 3, 1939.

I AM A SYMBOL OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

I stand before you as an individual being tried for certain offences against the State. You are a symbol of that State. But I am something more than an individual also; I, too, am a symbol, at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge and condemn, but rather the hundreds of millions of the people of India, and that is a large task even for a proud empire. Perhaps it may be that, though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world. There are more powerful forces at work in the world today than courts of law; there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of people, and history is being moulded by them. The future recorder of this history might well say that in the hour of supreme trial the government of Britain failed because they could not adapt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over the fate of empires which have always fallen because of this weakness and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the causes; the results are inexorably in their train.

It is a small matter to me what happens to me in this trial or subsequently. Individuals count for little; they come and go, as I shall go when my time is up. Seven times have I been tried and convicted by British authority in India, and many years of my life lie buried within prison walls. An eighth time or a ninth, and a few years more, make little difference.

The Unity of India, pp. 399-400; from statement at his trial at Gorakhpur, on November 3, 1940.

MY DEBT TO ENGLAND

Personally, I owe too much to England in my mental make-up ever to feel wholly alien to her. And, do what I will, I cannot get rid of the habits of mind, and the standards and ways of judging other countries as well as life generally, which I acquired at school and college in England. All my predilections (apart from the political plane) are in favour of England and the English people, and if I have become what is called an uncompromising opponent of British rule in India, it is almost in spite of myself.

Autobiography, p. 419.

I AM AN INEFFECTIVE POLITICIAN

I fear I am an ineffective politician at any time, and I have no taste whatever for the variety of politics that has lately developed. That is my weakness. When I cannot act effectively, I try at any rate to preserve a certain integrity of mind, and I wait for the time when I can act more effectively. It is a cheerless task.

The Unity of India, p. 169.

I AM PROUD OF MY COUNTRY

I am proud of my country, proud of my national inheritance, proud of many things, but I speak to you not in pride but with all humility. For events have humbled me and often shamed me and the dream of India that I have had has sometimes grown dim. I have loved India and sought to serve her not because of her geographical magnitude, not even because she was great in the past, but because of my faith in her today and my belief that she will stand for truth and freedom and the higher things of life.

Independence and After, p. 36; from broadcast from New Delhi on Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday Anniversary, October 2, 1948.

MY INHERITANCE

What is my inheritance? To what am I an heir? To all that humanity has achieved during tens of thousands of years, to

all that it has thought and felt, and suffered and taken pleasure in, to its cries of triumph and its bitter agony of defeat, to the astonishing adventure of man which began so long ago and yet continues and beckons to us. To all this and more, in common with all men. But there is a special heritage for those of us of India, not an exclusive one, for none are exclusive and all are common to the race of man, but more especially applicable to us, something that is in our flesh and blood and bones, that has gone to make us what we are and what we are likely to be.

The Discovery of India, pp. 26-7.

NATIONAL HERITAGE

Nothing is more advantageous and more creditable than a rich heritage; but nothing is more dangerous for a nation than to sit back and live on that heritage. A nation cannot progress if it merely imitates its ancestors; what builds a nation is creative, inventive and vital activity.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 433: from address at the University of Saugor, October 30, 1952.

THE CALL OF ACTION

The call of action has long been with me; not action divorced from thought, but rather flowing from it in one continuous sequence. And when, rarely, there has been full harmony between the two, thought leading to action and finding its fulfilment in it, action leading back to thought and a fuller understanding—then I have sensed a certain fulness of life and a vivid intensity in that moment of existence. But such moments are rare, very rare, and usually one outstrips the other, and there is a lack of harmony, and vain efforts to bring the two in line. . . . And yet, even now, the call of action stirs strange depths within me and, after a brief tussle with thought, I want to experience again that lovely impulse of delight which turns to risk and danger and faces and mocks at death. I am not enamoured of death, though I do not think it frightens me.

The Discovery of India, p. 9.

I AM NOT A PACIFIST

I am not a pacifist. . . . I do recognize that under certain circumstances one has to fight. It depends less on theory than on the background of the people; on what they can do. Even Mr. Gandhi, who was a great pacifist, always said that it is better to fight than to be afraid. It is better to indulge in violence than to run away. He meant that you must not surrender to evil, to basic evil, and that you must preferably fight in a peaceful way. If you cannot do that, well, then fight in the military way. But don't surrender to evil.

Conversations With Mr. Nehru, p. 79-80.

MY GENERATION

My generation has been a troubled one in India and the world. We may carry on for a little while longer, but our day will be over and we shall give place to others, and they will live their lives and carry their burdens to the next stage of the journey. How have we played our part in this brief interlude that draws to a close? I do not know. Others of a later stage will judge. By what standards do we measure success or failure? That too I do not know. We can make no complaint that life has treated us harshly for ours has been a willing choice, and perhaps life has not been so bad to us after all. For only those can sense life who stand often on the verge of it, only those whose lives are not governed by the fear of death. In spite of all the mistakes that we might have made, we have saved ourselves from triviality and an inner shame and cowardice. That, for our individual selves, has been some achievement. 'Man's dearest possession is life, and since it is given to him to live but once, he must so live as not to be seared with the shame of a cowardly and trivial past, so live as not to be tortured for years without purpose, so live that dying he can say: "All my life and my strength were given to the first cause in the world—the liberation of mankind".'

The Discovery of India, p. 691.

A MAN'S DEVELOPMENT

A person grows by his thoughts, by his actions, by his objectives. We are, as the Buddhist *Dharmapada* says, just a collection, a layer of our thoughts. So, if we think in a big way and act in a big way, we tend to become big ourselves, as individuals and as a nation.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 7; from speech at inaugural meeting of Co-ordination Board of Ministers for River Valley Projects, New Delhi, October 13, 1954.

I ONCE OPPOSED THE DEATH PENALTY

At one time I was strongly opposed to the death penalty, and, in theory, my opposition still continues. But I have come to realize that there are many things far worse than death, and if the choice had to be made, and I was given it, I would probably accept a death sentence rather than one of imprisonment for life. But I would not like to be hung; I would prefer being shot or guillotined or even electrocuted; most of all other methods I would like to be given, as Socrates was of old, the cup of poison from which there was no awakening. This last method seems to me to be far the most civilized and humane.

India and the World, p. 139.

I HAVE DABBLED IN MANY THINGS

I am not a man of letters, and I am not prepared to say that the many years I have spent in gaol have been the sweetest in my life, but I must say that reading and writing have helped me wonderfully to get through them. I am not a literary man, and I am not a historian; what, indeed, am I? I find it difficult to answer that question. I have been a dabbler in many things; I began with science at college, and then took to the law, and after developing various other interests in life, finally adopted the popular and widely practised profession of gaol-going in India.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, pp. 1498-9.

CRITICISM

Never be afraid of criticism. I welcome criticism.

Independence and After, p. 181; from speech at the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 4, 1949.

A MIGHTY PURPOSE BRINGS ITS OWN JOY

In the pursuit itself of a mighty purpose there is joy and happiness and a measure of achievement.

India and the World, p. 63.

THE PAST

The past remains. But I cannot write academically of past events in the manner of a historian or scholar. I have not that knowledge or equipment or training; nor do I possess the mood for that kind of work. The past oppresses me or fills me sometimes with its warmth when it touches on the present, and becomes, as it were, an aspect of that living present. If it does not do so, then it is cold, barren, lifeless, uninteresting. I can only write about it, as I have previously done, by bringing it in some relation to my present-day thoughts and activities, and then this writing of history, as Goethe once said, brings some relief from the weight and burden of the past. It is, I suppose, a process similar to that of psycho-analysis, but applied to a race or to humanity itself instead of to an individual.

The Discovery of India, p. 26.

OUR TOMORROWS

Shall we not also think of our tomorrows sometimes? Or must we invariably lose ourselves in our todays? I cannot ignore today, obviously. But so far as I am concerned, I must confess to you that the morrow is slightly more important to me than today. If we are thinking in terms of progress, we have to build for a tomorrow that will make progress possible; and we have to build on a firm founda-

tion, even though the laying of that may create some difficulties today.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 559-60: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, March 14, 1951.

WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE FAITH IN MAN

No, one may not lose faith in Man. God we may deny, but what hope is there for us if we deny Man and thus reduce everything to futility. Yet it was difficult to have faith in anything or to believe that the triumph of righteousness is inevitable.

The Discovery of India, p. 568.

RENUNCIATION HAS NO APPEAL FOR ME

I prefer the active virtues to the passive ones, and renunciation and sacrifice for their own sakes have little appeal for me. I do value them from another point of view—that of mental and spiritual training—just as a simple and regular life is necessary for the athlete to keep in good physical condition. And the capacity for endurance and perseverance in spite of hard knocks is essential for those who wish to dabble in great undertakings. But I have no liking or attraction for the ascetic view of life, the negation of life, the terrified abstention from its joys and sensations. I have not consciously renounced anything that I really valued; but then values change.

Autobiography, p. 205-6.

I AM NOT INTERESTED IN A FUTURE LIFE

Essentially I am interested in this world, in this life, not in some other world or a future life. Whether there is such a thing as a soul, or whether there is a survival after death or not, I do not know, and, important as these questions are, they do not trouble me in the least. The environment in which I have grown up takes the soul (or rather the *atma*) and a future life, the *Karma* theory of cause and effect, and re-incarnation for granted. I have been affected by this and so, in a sense, I am favourably disposed towards these

assumptions. There might be a soul which survives the physical death of the body, and a theory of cause and effect governing life's actions seems reasonable though it leads to obvious difficulties when one thinks of the ultimate cause. Presuming a soul, there appears to be some logic also in the theory of reincarnation.

But I do not believe in any of these or other theories and assumptions as a matter of religious faith. They are just intellectual speculations in an unknown region about which we know next to nothing. They do not affect my life, and whether they were proved right or wrong subsequently, they would make little difference to me.

The Discovery of India, pp. 15-16.

THREE MEN WHO HAVE INFLUENCED ME MOST

I might tell you that so far as I am personally concerned the three men who have influenced me most in my life have been my father, Gandhiji and Rabindranath Tagore. The first two more than the last one, because I came in contact with Tagore rather late when I had been conditioned, more or less, by my father and Gandhiji. Nevertheless, Rabindranath had a very considerable influence on me. It is interesting to remember that my father and Rabindranath Tagore were born on the same day, month and year. National urges were a common factor to all these three. But I doubt if you could find three persons who were so entirely different from one another as Gandhiji, my father and Rabindranath, and yet there were these enormous bonds and links in their thought and action, and, to some extent, in culture too, although, again, there are so many facets of culture that it takes different shapes in different individuals. I have so many memories of my father, vivid memories. But I think I remember most the last time I saw him when he visited me in Naini Prison, just a few days before his death. He was terribly ill and his face showed it. But throughout that brief interview his strong and dominant will not to give in to illness or death was apparent. He refused to recognize it and almost conveyed to me the impression that he would refuse to die, whatever happened. He was a great fighter

and specially a fighter when there were odds against him. *Speeches* (1953-57), pp. 482-83: from Interview by K. G. Saiyidain on All India Radio, May 6, 1956.

A CONFESSIO N OF FAITH

I am not wedded to any dogma or religion but I do believe—whether one calls it religion or not—in the innate spirituality of human beings. I do believe in the innate dignity of the individual. I do believe that every individual should be given equal opportunity. I believe as an ideal—it may be difficult to reach it—in an egalitarian society with no great differences. I dislike the vulgarity of the rich as much as the poverty of the poor.

The Hindu, March 28, 1960: from address to the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.

My Country

INDIA

Our own country is a little world in itself with an infinite variety and places for us to discover. I have travelled a great deal in this country and I have grown in years. And yet I have not seen many parts of the country we love so much and seek to serve. I wish I had more time, so that I could visit the odd nooks and corners of India. I would like to go there in the company of bright young children whose minds are opening out with wonder and curiosity as they make new discoveries. I should like to go with them, not so much to the great cities of India as to the mountains and the forests and the great rivers and the old monuments, all of which tell us something of India's history. I would like them to discover for themselves that they can play about in the snow in some parts of India and also see other places where tropical forests flourish. Such a trip with children would be a voyage of discovery of the beautiful trees and forests and hillsides and the flowers that grace the changing seasons and bring life and colour to us. We would watch the birds and try to recognize them and make friends with them. But the most exciting adventure would be to go to the forests and see the wild animals, both the little ones and the big. Foolish people go with a gun and kill them and thus put an end to something that was beautiful. It is far more interesting and amusing to wander about without a gun or any other weapon and to find that wild animals are not afraid and can be approached. Animals have keener instincts than man. If a man goes to them with murder in his heart, they are afraid of him and run away. But if he has any love for animals, they realize that he is a friend and do not mind him. If you are full of fear yourself, then the animal is afraid, too, and might attack you in self-defence.

The fearless person is seldom, if ever, attacked.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 443: from Children's Number of *Shanker's Weekly*, December 26, 1950.

THE SOUL OF INDIA

And yet India with all her poverty and degradation had enough of nobility and greatness about her, and though she was overburdened with ancient tradition and present misery, and her eyelids were a little weary, she had 'a beauty wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions'. Behind and within her battered body one could still glimpse a majesty of soul. Through long ages she had travelled and gathered much wisdom on the way, and trafficked with strangers and added them to her own big family, and witnessed days of glory and of decay, and suffered humiliation and terrible sorrow, and seen many a strange sight; but throughout her long journey she had clung to her immemorial culture, drawn strength and vitality from it, and shared it with other lands. Like a pendulum she had swung up and down; she had ventured with the daring of her thought to reach up to the heavens and unravel their mystery, and she had also had bitter experience of the pit of hell. Despite the woeful accumulations of superstition and degrading custom that had clung to her and borne her down, she had never wholly forgotten the inspiration that some of the wisest of her children, at the dawn of history, had given her in the *Upanishads*. Their keen minds, ever restless and ever striving and exploring, had not sought refuge in blind dogma or grown complacent in the routine observance of dead forms or ritual and creed. They had demanded not a personal relief from suffering in the present or a place in a paradise to come, but light and understanding: 'Lead me from the unreal to the real, lead me from darkness to light, lead me from death to immortality'. In the most famous of the prayers recited daily even today by millions, the *gayatri mantra*, the call is for knowledge, for enlightenment.

Autobiography, pp. 429-30.

The discovery of India—what have I discovered? It was presumption of me to imagine that I could unveil her and find out what she is today and what she was in the long past. Today she is four hundred million separate individual men and women, each differing from the other, each living in a private universe of thought and feeling. If this is so in the present, how much more difficult is it to grasp that multitudinous past of innumerable successions of human beings. Yet something has bound them together and binds them still. India is a geographical and economic entity, a cultural unity amidst diversity, a bundle of contradictions held together by strong but invisible threads. Overwhelmed again and again, her spirit was never conquered, and today when she appears to be the plaything of a proud conqueror, she remains unsubdued and unconquered. About her there is the elusive quality of a legend of long ago; some enchantment seems to have held her mind. She is a myth and an idea, a dream and a vision, and yet very real and present and pervasive. There are terrifying glimpses of dark corridors which seem to lead back to primeval night, but also there is the fulness and warmth of the day about her. Shameful and repellant she is occasionally, perverse and obstinate, sometimes even a little hysteric, this lady with a past. But she is very lovable and none of her children can forget her wherever they go or whatever strange fate befalls them. For she is part of them in her greatness as well as her failings, and they are mirrored in those deep eyes of hers that have seen so much of life's passion and joy and folly and looked down into wisdom's well. Each one of them is drawn to her, though perhaps each has a different reason for that attraction or can point to no reason at all, and each sees some different aspect of her many-sided personality. From age to age she has produced great men and women, carrying on the old tradition and yet ever adapting it to changing times. Rabindranath Tagore, in line with that great succession, was full of the temper and urges of the modern age and yet was rooted in India's past, and in his own self built up a synthesis of the old and the new. 'I love India', he said, 'not because I cultivate the idolatry of geog-

raphy, not because I have had the chance to be born in her soil, but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great ones'. So many will say, and yet others will explain their love for her in some different way.

The Discovery of India, p. 687.

INDIA IS YOUNG IN SPIRIT

India is an old nation and yet today she has within her something of the spirit and dynamic quality of youth. Some of the vital impulses which gave strength to India in past ages inspire us still and, at the same time, we have learned much from the West in social and political values, in science and technology. We have still much to learn and much to do, especially in the application of science to problems of social well-being. We have gained political freedom and the urgent task before us today is to improve rapidly the economic conditions of our people and to fight relentlessly against poverty and social ills. We are determined to apply ourselves to these problems and to achieve success. We have the will and the natural resources and the human material to do so and our immediate task is to harness them for human betterment. For this purpose, it is essential for us to have a period of peaceful development and co-operation with other nations.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 128-9: From speech made in the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, October 24, 1949.

A NEW VITALITY IS COMING OVER INDIA

A new vitality is coming into our people. Of course, I would say that the process started with our political revolution; by Mr Gandhi's movement. It shook up these people. It gave them the urge to advance and also it gave them some idea of how they could do it by working together, by co-operating and so forth. Now, how far can we take advantage of that and encourage it by further co-operative methods to improve their lot? How far can we create the conviction that it is not the Government that is doing it for them—the

Government does it, of course—but that the people themselves join in and realize that they are partners in a big enterprise which will raise their level? . . . I think you can produce that.

On the other hand, it may be that the shock of a big revolutionary change has the advantage of a clean slate to write upon—in a sense—but that revolution also brings about a great deal of destruction, a great deal of inner conflict.

Conversations with Mr Nehru, p. 53.

INDIA AKIN TO OLD GREECE

India is far nearer in spirit and outlook to the old Greece than the nations of Europe are today, although they call themselves children of the Hellenic spirit. We are apt to forget this because we have inherited fixed concepts which prevent reasoned thought. India, it is said, is religious, philosophical, speculative, metaphysical, unconcerned with the world, and lost in dreams of the beyond and the hereafter. So we are told, and perhaps those who tells us so would like India to remain plunged in thought and entangled in speculation, so that they might possess this world and the fulness thereof, unhindered by these thinkers, and take their joy of it. Yes, India has been all this but also much more than this. She has known the innocence and the insouciance of childhood, the passion and abandon of youth, and the ripe wisdom of maturity that comes from long experience of pain and pleasure; and over and over again she has renewed her childhood and youth and age. The tremendous inertia of age and size have weighed her down, degrading custom and evil practice have eaten into her, many a parasite has clung to her and sucked her blood, but behind all this lie the strength of ages and the subconscious wisdom of an ancient race. For we are very old, and trackless centuries whisper in our ears; yet we have known how to regain our youth again and again, though the memory and dreams of those past ages endure with us.

The Discovery of India, pp. 166-7.

INDIA'S VOICE IS THAT OF TRUTH

Our voice may be feeble today but the message it conveys

is no feeble message. It has the strength of truth in it and it will prevail.

Independence And After, p. 40: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi on the first anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death, January 30, 1949.

DEMOCRACY IN ANCIENT INDIA

The democratic way was not only well known but was a common method of functioning in social life, in local government, trade-guilds, religious assemblies, etc. Caste, with all its evils, kept up the democratic habit in each group. There used to be elaborate rules of procedure, election and debate. The Marquis of Zetland has referred to some of these in writing about the early Buddhist assemblies: 'And it may come as a surprise to many to learn that in the assemblies of the Buddhists in India two thousand or more years ago are to be found the rudiments of our own parliamentary practice of the present day. The dignity of the Assembly was preserved by the appointment of a special officer—the embryo of "Mr Speaker" in the House of Commons. A second officer was appointed whose duty it was to see that when necessary a quorum was secured—the prototype of the Parliamentary Chief Whip in our own system. A member initiating business did so in the form of a motion which was then open to discussion. In some cases this was done once only, in others three times, thus anticipating the practice of Parliament in requiring that A Bill be read a third time before it becomes law. If discussion disclosed a difference of opinion the matter was decided by the vote of the majority, the voting being by ballot.'

The Discovery of India, pp. 297-8.

INDIA IN ANCIENT TIMES

The picture of India, as we see it, in the first millenium after Christ and indeed even before that, is very different from its later appearance. We see in those early days an exuberant, vital people, full of the zest of life and adventure, carrying their message to far countries. In the realm of

thought, they dared to scale the highest peaks and to pierce the heavens. They built up a magnificent language and in the realm of art, they showed creative genius of the highest order. That early period does not indicate a closed-in life or a static society. We see also then the same cultural impulses surging throughout the land of India. It was from South India that the great colonizing expeditions went out to South-East Asia. It was also from the South that the great Bodhi-dharma went to China with the message of Buddhism. North and South joined in this great adventure of life, each nourishing the other.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 416-17: from Foreword to Dinkar's *Sanskriti Ke Char Adhyaya*.

THE INDIAN MIND

The Indian mind was extraordinarily analytical and had a passion for putting ideas and concepts, and even life's activities, into compartments. The Aryans not only divided society into four main groups but also divided the individual's life into four parts: the first part consisted of growth, and adolescence, the student period of life, acquiring knowledge, developing self-discipline and self-control, continence; the second was that of the householder and man of the world; the third was that of the elder statesman, who had attained a certain poise and objectivity, and could devote himself to public work without the selfish desire to profit by it; and the last stage was that of the recluse, who lived a life largely cut off from the world's activities. In this way also they adjusted the two opposing tendencies which often exist side by side in man—the acceptance of life in its fulness and the rejection of it.

The Discovery of India, p. 86.

THE UNITY OF INDIA

Superficial observers of India, accustomed to the standardization which modern industry has brought about in the West, are apt to be impressed too much by the variety and diversity of India. They miss the unity of India; and yet the tremendous and fundamental fact of India is her essential

unity throughout the ages. Indian history runs into thousands of years, and, of all modern nations, only China has such a continuous and ancient background of culture. Five to six thousand years ago the Indus Valley Civilization flourished all over Northern India and probably extended to the South also. Even there it was something highly developed, with millenia of growth behind it. Since the early dawn of history innumerable people, conquerors and settlers, pilgrims and students, have trekked into the plains of India from the highlands of Asia and have influenced Indian life and culture and art; but always they have been absorbed and assimilated. India was changed by these contacts and yet she remained essentially her own old self. Like the ocean she received the tribute of a thousand rivers, and though she was disturbed often enough, and storms raged over the surface of her waters, the sea continued to be the sea. It is astonishing to note how India continued successfully this process of assimilation and adaptation. She could only have done so if the idea of a fundamental unity were so deep-rooted as to be accepted even by the newcomer, and if her culture were flexible and adaptable to changing conditions.

Vincent Smith, in his 'Oxford History of India', refers to what I have in mind: 'India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fundamental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of language, blood, colour, dress, manners and sect.'

The Unity of India, p. 14.

INDIA CREATED UNITY OUT OF DIVERSITY

We see in the past that some inner urge towards synthesis, derived essentially from the Indian philosophic outlook, was the dominant feature of Indian cultural and even racial development. Each incursion of foreign elements was a challenge to this culture, and it met it successfully by a new synthesis and process of absorption. This was also a process of rejuvenation and new blooms of culture arose out of it, the background and essential basis, however, remaining

much the same. C. E. M. Joad has written about this: 'Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity.'

The Discovery of India, p. 75.

THE VITALITY OF INDIA

It is not some secret doctrine or esoteric knowledge that has kept India vital and going through these long ages, but a tender humanity, a varied and tolerant culture, and a deep understanding of life and its mysterious ways. Her abundant vitality flows out from age to age in her magnificent literature and art, though we have only a small part of this with us and much lies hidden still or has been destroyed by nature's or man's vandalism. The *Trimurti* in the Elephanta caves might well be the many-faced statue of India herself, powerful, with compelling eyes, full of deep knowledge and understanding, looking down upon us. The Ajanta frescoes are full of a tenderness and a love of beauty and life, and yet always with a suspicion of something deeper, something beyond.

The Discovery of India, p. 167.

INDIA SYMBOLIZES THE SPIRIT OF HUMANITY

So long as India kept her mind open to the world and gave of her riches to others, and received from them what she lacked, she remained fresh and strong and vital. But the more she withdrew into her shell, intent on preserving herself, uncontaminated by external influences, the more she lost that inspiration and her life became increasingly a dull routine of meaningless activities all centred in the dead past. Losing the art of creating beauty, her children lost even the capacity to recognize it . . .

'From Persia to the Chinese Sea', writes Sylvain Levi, 'from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Socotra, India has propagated her beliefs, her tales and her civilization. She has left indelible imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long suc-

cession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her place amongst the great nations summarizing and symbolizing the spirit of Humanity'.

The Discovery of India, pp. 238-40.

MEN DIFFERENT FROM THE COMMON CLAY

What gods there are, I know not; and I am not concerned about them. But there are certain rare qualities which raise a man above the common herd and make him appear as though he were of different clay. The long story of humanity can be considered from many points of view; it is a story of the advance and growth of man and the spirit of man; it is also a story full of agony and tragedy. It is a story of masses of men and women in ferment and in movement and it is also the story of great and outstanding personalities who have given content and shape to that movement of masses.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 573: from Foreword to D. G. Tendulkar's *Mahatma*.

INDIA NOT AFRAID OF HER PROBLEMS

All over Asia we are passing through trials and tribulations. In India also you will see conflict and trouble. Let us not be disheartened by this; this is inevitable in an age of mighty transition. There are a new vitality and creative impulses in all the peoples of Asia. The masses are awake and they demand their heritage. Strong winds are blowing all over Asia. Let us not be afraid of them, but rather welcome them for only with their help can we build the new Asia of our dreams. Let us have faith in these great new forces and the dream which is taking shape. Let us, above all, have faith in the human spirit which Asia has symbolized for these long ages past.

Independence and After, pp. 300-1: from speech inaugurating the Asian Conference, New Delhi, March 23, 1947.

GANDHI GAVE A STATURE TO INDIA

India has attained a great name in the world today for various reasons. But the most important of these reasons is Mahatma Gandhi. It is he who has given this great stature to India, and that stature was not given because of India's army or navy or wealth, but because this giant among men showed up the pettiness of the world in the moral sphere, of the politicians of the world. So India gained this place because people thought of India in certain moral terms. And they were right in the sense that India had produced Gandhi, though most of us were petty people, unworthy even of following him. So let us think of this problem in this context of morality. And again, I come back to this, that we may differ as we do—and I do not mind our differing—but whether we differ or not, we must be clear in our minds about this, that we should not stoop to any low means, we should not stoop to any violent means, we should not stoop to any vulgar means.

Independence and After, p. 143: from address at Silver Jubilee Convocation of Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

THE MAGIC OF TRANSITION

As I stand here, I feel the weight of all manner of things crowding upon me. We are at the end of an era and possibly very soon we shall embark upon a new age; and my mind goes back to the great past of India, to the 5,000 years of India's history, from the very dawn of that history which might be considered almost the dawn of human history, till today. All that past crowds upon me and exhilarates me and, at the same time, somewhat oppresses me. Am I worthy of that past? When I think also of the future, the greater future, I hope, standing on this sword's edge of the present between the mighty past and the mightier future, I tremble a little and feel overwhelmed by this mighty task. We have come here at a strange moment in India's history. I do not know, but I do feel that there is some magic in this moment of transition from the old to the new, something of that magic which one sees when the night turns into day and even

though the day may be a cloudy one, it is day after all, for when the clouds move away, we can see the sun again. Because of all this I find a little difficulty in addressing this House and putting all my ideas before it and I feel also that in this long succession of thousands of years, I see the mighty figures that have come and gone and I see also the long succession of our comrades who have laboured for the freedom of India. And now we stand on the verge of this passing age, trying, labouring, to usher in the new . . .

I think also of the various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before and of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned a Constitution which has stood the test of so many years, more than a century and a half, and of the great nation which has resulted, which has been built up on the basis of that Constitution. My mind goes back to that mighty revolution which took place also over 150 years ago and the Constituent Assembly that met in that gracious and lovely city of Paris which has fought so many battles for freedom. My mind goes back to the difficulties that the Constituent Assembly had to face from the King and other authorities, and still it continued. The House will remember that when these difficulties came and even the room for a meeting was denied to that Constituent Assembly, they betook themselves to an open tennis court and met there and took the oath, which is called the Oath of the Tennis Court. They continued in spite of Kings, in spite of the others, and did not disperse till they had finished the task they had undertaken. Well, I trust that it is in that solemn spirit that we too are meeting here and that we too, whether we meet in this chamber or in the fields or in the market place, will go on meeting and continue our work till we have finished it.

Then my mind goes back to a more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of State, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of the Soviet Socialistic Republics, another mighty country which is playing a tremendous part in the world, not only a mighty country, but for us in India, a neighbouring country.

So our mind goes back to these great examples and we

seek to learn from their success and to avoid their failures. Perhaps we may not be able to avoid their failures, because some measure of failure is inherent in human effort. Nevertheless, we shall advance, I am certain, in spite of obstructions and difficulties, and achieve and realize the dream that we have dreamt so long.

Independence and After, pp. 346-8: from speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, December 13, 1946.

MOHENJO-DARO

I stood on a mound of Mohenjo-daro in the Indus valley in the north-west of India, and all around me lay the houses and streets of this ancient city that is said to have existed over five thousand years ago; and even then it was an old and well-developed civilization. 'The Indus civilization', writes Professor Childe, 'represents a very perfect adjustment of human life to a specified environment that can only have resulted from years of patient effort. And it has endured; it is already specifically Indian and forms the basis of Indian culture'. Astonishing thought: that any culture or civilization should have this continuity for five or six thousand years or more; and not in a static, unchanging sense, for India was changing and progressing all the time.

The Discovery of India, pp. 42-3.

CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE

There is in me a sense of confidence in the future; in India's future, in the world's future. A confidence which I cannot justify by any reasoning because if I sit down to reason, all kinds of other thoughts come in. This feeling is helped, partly, I suppose, by my relative good health. I have a sense of adventure and joy in life; in work and in doing things in general. And this carries me very far, without ever depressing me.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, p. 42.

India's Struggle For Freedom

THE GOAL OF INDIA

That is the goal of India—a united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the day of separate warring national States should be ended.

We want independence and not Dominion or any other status. Every thinking person knows that the whole conception of Dominion Status belongs to past history; it has no future. It cannot survive this war, whatever the results of this war. But whether it survives or not, we want none of it. We do not want to be bound down to a group of nations which has dominated and exploited us; we will not be in an empire in some parts of which we are treated as helots and where racialism runs riot. We want to cut adrift from the financial domination of the City of London. We want to be completely free with no reservation or exceptions, except such as we ourselves approve, in common with others, in order to create a Federation of Nations, or a new World Order. If this new World Order or Federation does not come in the near future, we should like to be closely associated in a Federation with our neighbours—China, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Persia. We are prepared to take risks and face dangers. We do not want the so-called protection of the British Army or Navy. We will shift for ourselves.

The Unity of India, pp. 388-9.

INDIA NEED NOT FEAR ANY GREAT POWER

I can understand some of the smaller countries of Europe or some of the smaller countries of Asia being forced by circumstances to bow down before some of the greater Powers and becoming practically satellites of those Powers because

they cannot help it. The power opposed to them is so great and they have nowhere to turn. But I do not think that consideration applies to India.

We are not citizens of a weak or mean country and I think it is foolish for us to get frightened, even from a military point of view, of the greatest of the Powers today. Not that I delude myself about what can happen to us if a great Power in a military sense goes against us; I have no doubt it can injure us. But after all in the past, as a national movement, we opposed one of the greatest of world powers. We opposed it in a particular way and in a large measure succeeded in that way, and I have no doubt that if the worst comes to the worst—and in a military sense we cannot meet these Great Powers—it is far better for us to fight in our own way than submit to them and lose all the ideals we have.

Therefore, let us not be frightened too much of the military might of this or that group. I am not frightened and I want to tell the world on behalf of this country that we are not frightened of the military might of this Power or that. Our policy is not a passive policy or a negative policy.

Independence and After, p. 213: from a speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1948.

A HARD TASK BEFORE US

We do not underestimate the difficulties before us. We have a hard task, hard because of external opposition, harder still because of our own weaknesses. It is always more difficult to fight one's own failings than the power of an adversary. We have to do both. We have social evils, with the authority of long tradition and habit behind them. We have within us the elements which have gone to build up Fascism in other countries. We have inertia and a tame submission to fate and its decrees. But we have also a new awakening of the vital spirit of India. The static uncreative period is over, a hunger for change and for the ending of misery and poverty has seized the masses. The world is shaken by war and alarms of wars. No one knows what horror and inhuman cruelty and destruction—or human progress—the

future holds for us. Be that as it may, India will no longer be merely a passive instrument of destiny or of another's will.

The Unity of India, pp. 25-6.

OTHERS WILL TAKE OUR PLACE ON THE MARCH TO FREEDOM

In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change, in this world pregnant with revolutionary and dynamic possibility, are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny, and slide back to static futility? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal? If we enter the backwaters, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent.

India and the World, pp. 90-1.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Mahatma Gandhi taught us to view our national struggle always in terms of the under-privileged and those to whom opportunity had been denied. Therefore, there was always an economic facet to our political struggle for freedom. We realized that there was no real freedom for those who suffered continually from want and because there were millions who lacked the barest necessities of existence in India, we thought of freedom in terms of raising and bettering the lot of these people. Having achieved political freedom, it is our passionate desire to serve our people in this way and to remove the many burdens they have carried for many generations past. Gandhi said on one occasion that it was his supreme ambition to wipe every tear from every eye. That was an ambition beyond even his power to realize, for many millions of eyes have shed tears in India, in Asia and in the rest of the world; and perhaps it may never be possible completely to stop this unending flow of human want and misery and suffering; and what are politics and all our argu-

ments worth if they do not have this aim in view?

Independence and After, p. 160: from a talk
broadcast from New Delhi, January 18, 1948.

INDIA DESTINED TO PLAY A GREAT PART IN THE WORLD

In India we are very different from what we were in 1914. We have gained strength and political consciousness and a capacity for united action. In spite of our manifold difficulties and problems, we are no weak nation today. Our voice counts to some extent, even in international affairs. If we had been free we might have even succeeded in preventing this war. Sometimes the Irish analogy is placed before us. While we may learn much from Ireland and her struggle for freedom, we must remember that we are placed differently. Ireland is a small country which is geographically and economically tied to Britain. Even an independent Ireland cannot make much difference to world affairs. Not so India. A free India, with her vast resources, can be of great service to the world and to humanity. India will always make a difference to the world; fate has marked us for big things. When we fall, we fall low; when we rise, inevitably we play our part in the world drama.

The Unity of India, p. 307.

MERE DEMONSTRATIONS WILL NOT BUILD THE NATION

Today people seem to imagine that work lies in marching up and down the streets and calling it a demonstration; or stopping work, whether it is in a factory or in a school, or somewhere else, calling it a *hartal*; or some other kind of demonstrative activity. Now, maybe that has its uses sometimes, no doubt it has. But I do tell you, and I tell you in all sincerity, that I can imagine no greater crime to India than the kind of thing that is going on today. I am not joking with you. I have a few more years of activity and I want to see India great and strong, a flourishing State, not only doing its duty to its own people, but to the whole wide world. And when I see our young men behaving as they

do, when I see young men and hysterical young women misbehaving, I am angry, I tell you. Is all the work we have done just going to be lost because some hysterical people talk nonsense in this way, and behave in a nonsensical manner? What is happening here—is that your idea of liberty and democracy and freedom? I am amazed at this business. I want to be frank with you about it. This is not the way we are going to build up our nation.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 128: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW

All of us have during these many years past been through the valley of the shadow; we have passed our lives in opposition, in struggle and sometimes in failure and sometimes in success and most of us are haunted by these dreams and visions of old days and those hopes that filled us and the frustration that often followed those hopes; yet we have seen that even from that prickly thorn of frustration and despair, we have been able to pick the rose of fulfilment.

Independence and After, p. 272: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, May 16, 1949.

INDIA WILLING TO CO-OPERATE WITH HER ERSTWHILE OPPONENTS

I wanted the world to see that India had faith in herself and that India was prepared to co-operate even with those with whom she had been fighting in the past; provided the basis of co-operation today was honourable, that it was a free basis, a basis which would lead to the good not only of ourselves, but of the world also. That is to say, we would not deny that co-operation, simply because in the past we had fought, and thus carry on the trail of our past *karma* along with us. We have to wash out the past with all its evil. I wanted, if I may say so in all humility, to help in letting the world look at things in a slightly different perspective, or rather try to see how vital questions could be

approached and dealt with.

Independence and After, p. 278: from speech
in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi,
May 16, 1949.

Ends and Means

ENDS AND MEANS

Ends and means: were they tied up so inseparably, acting and reacting on each other, the wrong means distorting and sometimes even destroying the end in view? But the right means might well be beyond the capacity of infirm and selfish human nature. What then was one to do? Not to act was a complete confession of failure and a submission to evil; to act meant often enough a compromise with some form of that evil, with all the untoward consequences that such compromises result in.

The Discovery of India, p. 13.

RIGHT MEANS ALWAYS IMPORTANT.

Well, there is this question of means which you have just mentioned. Faith grew in me that the right means are always important and vital, although, naturally, for a politician, one always has to choose the lesser evil. A leader cannot divorce himself from the masses; not completely. He may be at some distance, pushing or pulling them. But if he divorces himself, well . . . he may be a great man, but he is not a leader. He has lost touch. Therefore he has to compromise. But the point is that the compromise should *not* be on any basic principle. . . . Again, I had read the *Gita* occasionally and admired it. I read it again and again. Not from a philosophical or from a theological point of view, but it had numerous parts which had a powerful effect on me. The sort of thing that if a person does the right thing the right results will flow from it. Gradually, I began to develop the thought to apply my scientific mind to this business and I came to the conclusion that every action has, naturally, a result. Every right action must have, to that extent, a right result, even though it may not be sure; and that,

somewhere, every wrong action must have a wrong result.
Conversations with Mr Nehru, pp. 30-1.

A LESSON LEARNT FROM MY GREAT MASTER

If I have gained any experience in the last thirty or forty years of my public life or if I have learnt any lesson from the Great Master who taught us many things, it is this, a crooked policy does not pay in the end. It may pay temporarily.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 267: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 3, 1950.

RIGHT COURSE ESSENTIAL EVEN FOR GAINING A PRESENT ADVANTAGE

I am quite convinced that, if we adhere to the right course and do not stray from it, even from the opportunist point of view of some present advantage, we shall win through, and any country that bases its case on an essential falsehood cannot gain its ends.

Independence and After, p. 99: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, September 7, 1948.

THE MORAL LAW

I have become more and more convinced that so long as we do not recognize the supremacy of the moral law in our national and international relations, we shall have no enduring peace. So long as we do not adhere to right means, the end will not be right and fresh evil will flow from it. That was the essence of Gandhiji's message and mankind will have to appreciate it in order to see and act clearly. When eyes are bloodshot vision is limited. I have no doubt in my mind that World Government must and will come, for there is no other remedy for the world's sickness. The machinery for it is not difficult to devise. It can be an extension of the federal principle, a growth of the idea underlying the United Nations, giving each national unit freedom to fashion

its destiny according to its genius, but subject always to the basic covenant of the World Government.

Independence and After, p. 303: from a broadcast talk to the U.S.A. from Delhi, April 3, 1948.

THE ETHICAL APPROACH

The ethical approach to life has a strong appeal for me.

The Discovery of India, p. 17.

MORAL VALUES

We cannot ignore moral values except at peril to ourselves.

Independence and After, p. 39: from broadcast talk from New Delhi, on the First Anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death, January 30, 1949.

EVIL FLOURISHES IN THE DARK

Evil flourishes far more in the dark than in the light of day.

The Unity of India, p. 68.

MEANS CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM ENDS

I think that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right but the means are wrong, it will vitiate the end or divert us in a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That, indeed, has been the lesson of old taught us by many great men in the past but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 396: from address delivered on the conferment on him of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Columbia University, New York, October 17, 1949.

THE ETHICAL TRADITION OF MAHATMA GANDHI

We, the great majority of members of this House and vast numbers of people in this country, have spent our lives in

what might be called revolutionary activity, in conflict with authority. We are bred in the tradition of revolution and now we sit in the seat of authority and have to deal with difficult problems. That adjustment is not an easy adjustment at any time for anyone. Then again, not only were we revolutionaries and agitators and breakers up of many things, but we were bred in a high tradition under Mahatma Gandhi. That tradition is an ethical tradition, a moral tradition and at the same time it is an application of those ethical and moral doctrines to practical politics. That great man placed before us a technique of action which was unique in the world, which combined political activity and political conflict and a struggle for freedom with certain moral and ethical principles. Now, I dare not say that any of us, not all of us, lived up to those ethical principles and I do dare to say that in the course of the past thirty years or so all of us, in a smaller or greater degree, was affected by those moral and ethical doctrines of the Great Master and Leader.

Independence and After, pp. 233-4: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

ETHICS AND THE GOOD LIFE

In spite of this conclusion arrived at by psychological and metaphysical analysis which ultimately reduces the conception of the invisible world or the absolute to pure consciousness, and thus to nothing, so far as we can use or comprehend words, it is emphasised that ethical relations have a definite value in our finite world. So in our lives and in our human relations we have to conform to ethics and live the good life. To that life and to this phenomenal world we can and should apply reason and knowledge and experience.

The Discovery of India, p. 194.

Truth

TRUTH

Let us tread the path of truth and *dharma*.

Independence and After, p. 27: from speech on the occasion of the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Allahabad, February 12, 1948.

THE TRUE PATH OF MAN

The true path of man is the path of truth and peace.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 122: from address at the East and West Association, New York, October 19, 1949.

GOVERNMENTS DISLIKE TRUTH AND ITS SEEKERS

Evidently governments do not like people who are always trying to find out things; they do not like the search for truth.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 68.

STATESMEN AND TRUTH

A statesman or a politician, or call him what you will, has to deal not only with the truth, but with men's receptivity of that truth, because if there is not sufficient response to it from the politician's or statesman's point of view, that truth is banished into the wilderness till minds are ripe for it.

Independence and After, p. 235: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

TRUTH IS THE ULTIMATE VICTOR

Though truth may occasionally be suppressed, it can never be put down.

The foundations of a lasting victory can only be laid on the rock of truth.

Independence and After, pp. 26 and 28: from speech on the occasion of the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Allahabad on February 12, 1948.

I AM IN QUEST OF THE TRUTH

I am something other than a Prime Minister, too. I am also a human being. I often find myself struggling for some light, for a vision of what one should do, for a glimpse of the truth and of the pathway to the truth.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 370-1: from address at the UNESCO Indian National Commission, New Delhi, March 24, 1951.

TRUTH IS NOT THE MONOPOLY OF SCIENTISTS

Scientists should note that they do not have a monopoly of the truth; that nobody has a monopoly, no country, no people, no book. Truth is too vast to be contained in the minds of beings, or in books, however sacred.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 433: from speech at the Science Congress, Calcutta, January 14, 1957.

BUDDHA'S CONCEPTION OF TRUTH

The Buddha asked no man to believe anything except what could be proved by experiment and trial. All he wanted men to do was to seek the truth and not accept anything on the word of another, even though it be of the Buddha himself. That seems to me the essence of his message, besides tolerance and compassion; and it struck me that the message, far from being out of date today, had a peculiar significance in

this world of ours.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 432: from speech at the Science Congress, Calcutta, January 14, 1957.

THE UPANISHADS

The *Upanishads* are instinct with a spirit of inquiry, of mental adventure, of a passion for finding out the truth about things. The search for this truth is of course not by objective methods of modern science, yet there is an element of the scientific method in that approach. No dogma is allowed to come in the way. There is much that is trivial and without meaning or relevance for us today. The emphasis is essentially on self-realization, on knowledge of the individual self and the Absolute Self, both of which are said to be the same in essence. The objective external world is not considered unreal but real in a relative sense, an aspect of the inner reality.

Probably the ethic of individual perfection was over-emphasized and hence the social outlook suffered. 'There is nothing higher than the person', say the *Upanishads*. Society must have been considered as stabilized and hence the mind of man was continually thinking of individual perfection, and in quest of this it wandered about in the heavens and in the innermost recesses of the heart. This old Indian approach was not a narrow nationalistic one, though there must have been a feeling that India was the hub of the world, just as China and Greece and Rome felt at various times. 'The whole world of mortals is an interdependent organism', says the *Mahabharata*.

The dominating characteristic of the *Upanishads* is the dependence on truth. 'Truth wins ever, not falsehood. With truth is paved the way to the Divine.' And the famous invocation is for light and understanding: 'Lead me from the unreal to the real! Lead me from darkness to light! Lead me from death to immortality!'

The Discovery of India, pp. 91-2.

TRUTH INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO MAN IN ITS FULNESS

Truth as ultimate reality, if such there is, must be eternal,

imperishable, unchanging. But that infinite, eternal and unchanging truth cannot be apprehended in its fulness by the finite mind of man which can only grasp, at most, some small aspect of it limited by time and space, and by the state of development of that mind and the prevailing ideology of the period. As the mind develops and enlarges its scope, as ideologies change and new symbols are used to express that truth, new aspects of it come to light, though the core of it may yet be the same. And so, truth has ever to be sought and renewed, reshaped and developed, so that, as understood by man, it might keep in line with the growth of his thought and the development of human life. Only then does it become a living truth for humanity, supplying the essential need for which it craves, and offering guidance in the present and for the future.

The Discovery of India, p. 621.

THE TRUTH OF SCIENCE CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED

We have now these mysteries which the high priests of science flourish before us, not only flourish but threaten us with. They make us feel full of wonder and full of fear. These new mysteries of science and of higher mathematics unveil various aspects of the physical world to us. No one knows where this will lead us to. Some of us may feel frightened but in the ultimate, we should never be frightened of the truth. We cannot suppress truth; we cannot suppress the desire of man to unravel, to discover, to progress, even though it may land him in dangerous situations. If the human mind by chance takes the wrong turn, well, it suffers the consequences. Therefore it is no good trying to stop this quest.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 505: from speech at the inauguration of the Swimming Pool Reactor, Trombay, January 20, 1957.

NO ONE KNOWS THE WHOLE TRUTH

Can we presume to imagine that we know the whole truth and to force this down the throat of our neighbour? It may

be we are right. It may be that our neighbour is also right.
Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 260.

WHAT IS TRUTH ?

We did not grow much more truthful, perhaps, than we had been previously, but Gandhi was always there as a symbol of uncompromising truth to pull us up and shame us into truth. What is truth? I do not know for certain, and perhaps our truths are relative and absolute truth is beyond us. Different persons may and do take different views of truth, and each individual is powerfully influenced by his own background, training and impulses. So also Gandhi. But truth is at least for an individual what he himself feels and knows to be true. According to that definition I do not know of any person who holds to the truth as Gandhi does. That is a dangerous quality in a politician for he speaks out his mind and even lets the public see its changing phases.

The Discovery of India, p. 428.

CLASH OF TRUTH AND POLITICAL LIFE

It is never easy to reconcile a strict adherence to truth as one sees it with the exigencies and expediences of life, and especially of political life. Normally people do not even worry themselves over this problem. They keep truth apart in some corner of their minds, if they keep it at all anywhere, and accept expediency as the measure of action. In politics that has been the universal rule, not only because unfortunately politicians are a peculiar species of opportunists, but because they cannot act purely on the personal plane. They have to make others act, and so they have to consider the limitations of others and their understanding of and receptivity to truth. And because of this they have to make compromises with that truth and adapt it to the prevailing circumstances. That adaptation becomes inevitable, and yet there are risks always attending it, and the tendency to ignore and abandon truth grows and expediency becomes the sole criterion of action.

The Discovery of India, pp. 537-8.

THE PLACE OF TRUTH IN LIFE

An eminent person said long ago, that you cannot discard truth but it makes all the difference in the world whether you put truth in the first place or in the second.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 254: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 18, 1953.

RELIGIONS HAVE TRIED TO IMPRISON TRUTH

Religions have helped greatly in the development of humanity. They have laid down values and standards and have pointed out principles for the guidance of human life. But with all the good that they have done, they have also tried to imprison truth in set forms and dogmas, and encouraged ceremonials and practices which soon lose all their original meaning and become mere routine. While impressing upon man the awe and mystery of the unknown that surrounds him on all sides, they have discouraged him from trying to understand not only the unknown but what might come in the way of social effort. Instead of encouraging curiosity and thought, they have preached a philosophy of submission to nature, to the established church, to the prevailing social order, and to everything that is. The belief in a supernatural agency which ordains everything has led to a certain irresponsibility on the social plane, and emotion and sentimentality have taken the place of reasoned thought and enquiry. Religion, though it has undoubtedly brought comfort to innumerable human beings and stabilized society by its values, has checked the tendency to change and progress inherent in human society.

The Discovery of India, p. 622.

THE TRUTH OF MAHATMA GANDHI

What was his great power over the mind and heart of man due to? Ages to come will judge and we are too near him to assess the many facets of his extraordinarily rich personality. But even we realize that the dominating passion of his life was truth. That truth led him to proclaim without ceasing that good ends can never be attained by evil methods, that the end itself is distorted if the method pursued is bad. That

truth led him to confess publicly whenever he thought he had made a mistake—Himalayan errors he called some of his own mistakes. That truth led him to fight evil and untruth wherever he found them regardless of the consequences. That truth made the service of the poor and the dispossessed the passion of his life, for where there is inequality and discrimination and suppression, there is injustice and evil and untruth. And thus he became the beloved of all those who have suffered from social and political evils, and the great representative of humanity as it should be. Because of that truth in him, wherever he sat became a temple and where he trod was hallowed ground.

Independence and After, p. 30: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, February 14, 1948.

Non-Violence

PRINCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE ATTRACTED ME

What I admired was the moral and ethical side of our movement and of Satyagraha. I did not give an absolute allegiance to the doctrine of non-violence or accept it for ever, but it attracted me more and more, and the belief grew upon me that, situated as we were in India and with our background and traditions, it was the right policy for us. The spiritualization of politics, using the word not in its narrow religious sense, seemed to me a fine idea. A worthy end should have worthy means leading up to it. That seemed not only a good ethical doctrine, but sound, practical politics, for the means that are not good often defeat the end in view and raise new problems and difficulties. And then it seemed so unbecoming, so degrading to the self-respect of an individual or a nation to submit to such means, to go through the mire. How can one escape being sullied by it? How can we march ahead swiftly and with dignity if we stoop or crawl?

Such were my thoughts then. And the non-co-operation movement offered me what I wanted—the goal of national freedom and (as I thought) the ending of the exploitation of the under-dog, and the means which satisfied my moral sense and gave me a sense of personal freedom. So great was this personal satisfaction that even a possibility of failure did not count for much, for such failure could only be temporary. I did not understand or feel drawn to the metaphysical part of the *Bhagvad Gita*, but I liked to read the verses—recited every evening in Gandhiji's ashram prayers—which say what a man should be like: Calm of purpose, serene and unmoved, doing his job and not caring overmuch for the result of his action. Not being very calm or detached myself, I suppose, this ideal appealed to me all the more.

Autobiography, p. 73.

SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha was a definite, though non-violent, form of resistance to what was considered wrong. It was, in effect, a peaceful rebellion, a most civilized form of warfare, and yet dangerous to the stability of the State. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function and it seemed to fit in with the peculiar genius of the Indian people. It put us on our best behaviour and seemed to put the adversary in the wrong. It made us shed the fear that crushed us and we began to look people in the face as we had never done before, and to speak out our minds fully and frankly. A great weight seemed to be lifted from our minds and this new freedom of speech and action filled us with confidence and strength. And, finally, the method of peace prevented to a large extent the growth of those terribly bitter racial and national hatreds which had always so far accompanied such struggles, and thus made the ultimate settlement easier.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, pp. 1124-5.

PATH OF VIOLENCE IS PERILOUS

The path of violence is perilous and freedom seldom exists for long where there is violence.

Independence and After, p. 26: from speech on the occasion of the immersion of the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Allahabad, February 12, 1948.

PREACHING OF VIOLENCE

No government can tolerate the preaching of violence.

The Unity of India, p. 68.

VIOLENCE DOES NOT LEAD TO PEACE

Surely the lesson of those wars has been that out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. The lesson of history, the long course of history, and more especially the lesson of the last two great wars

which have devastated humanity, has been that out of hatred and violence only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence, and not the most brilliant debate will get you out of it, unless you look some other way and find some other means. It is obvious that if you continue in this cycle and have wars which this assembly was especially meant to avoid and prevent, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world, but non-achievement by any individual Power or group of its objective.

Independence and After, p. 319: from address to the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, November 3, 1948.

VIOLENCE STILL POWERFUL IN THE WORLD

Few of us, I suppose, can say that the era of violence is over or is likely to end soon. Today violence flourishes in its intensest and most destructive and inhuman form, as never before. It will die or it will kill a good part of the world.

The sword, as ever, is a shift for fools,
To hide their folly.

The Unity of India, p. 354.

VIOLENCE A CHILD OF PRESENT ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Violence and monopoly and concentration of wealth in a few hands are produced by the present economic structure. It is not large scale industry that brings any injustice and violence but the misuse of large scale industry by private capitalists and financiers. It is true that the big machine multiplies the power of man exceedingly both for construction and destruction, both for good and for ill. It is possible, I think, to eliminate the evil use and the violence of the big machine by changing the economic structure of capitalism. It is essentially private ownership and the acquisitive form of society that encourage a competitive violence. Under a socialist society this evil should go, at the same time leaving us the good which the big machine has brought.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 382: from letter to Krisna Kripalani, dated September 29, 1939.

VIOLENCE BETTER THAN COWARDICE

I do recognize that under certain circumstances one has to fight. It depends less on theory than on the background of the people; on what they can do. Even Mr Gandhi, who was a great pacifist, always said that it is better to fight than to be afraid. It is better to indulge in violence than to run away.

Conversations with Mr Nehru, p. 79.

IS THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT PLEDGED TO NON-VIOLENCE?

Acharya Kripalani put a straight question: whether our Government was pledged to non-violence? The answer to that is no, the Government is not. As far as I can conceive, under the existing circumstances, no Government can be pledged to non-violence. If we were pledged to non-violence, surely we would not keep any army, navy or air force—and possibly not even a police force. I do not know. One may have an ideal. One may adhere to a policy leading in a certain direction, and yet, because of existing circumstances, one cannot give effect to that ideal. We have to wait for it for some time. Acharya Kripalani reminded us of Mahatma Gandhi, saying that the Polish defence against the German armies might also be called satyagraha. Also Gandhiji defended—not only defended but also encouraged—the India Army going to Kashmir to defend Kashmir against the raiders. It is surprising that a man like Gandhiji, who was absolutely committed to non-violence, should do that kind of thing. So that, even he, in certain circumstances, admitted the right of the State, as it is constituted, to commit violence in defence. The Government of India, obviously, cannot give up that right in the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, we have made it perfectly clear that we shall use force only in defence and that we shall not provoke a war or start a war or adopt any aggressive tactics in regard to a war. That is our policy.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 382: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi on 'Foreign Footholds', July 26, 1955.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND ITS SYMBOLS

The dominant fact of the modern world is atomic energy and its dreadful symbols, the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. If these terrible weapons are let loose on humanity, then all our hopes are dashed to the ground and humanity perishes. We have protested against war and against the production and experimentation of these weapons. It must be remembered that even without war, if these experiments of explosions of the hydrogen bomb go on, the future of humanity is imperilled, as eminent scientists tell us. And yet we have recently had such an experiment in the Soviet Union and we are told that there is going to be another experiment in the Pacific area. All this is of tremendous practical importance to every human being and it raises moral issues of great significance.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 184: from broadcast from New Delhi, January 16, 1956.

W A R

Armed might affords no adequate solution for the problems of the world.

The more I live and the more I grow in experience, the more convinced I am of the futility and the wickedness of war as a means of solving a problem.

The consequences of acting in a passion are always bad for an individual; but they are infinitely worse for a nation.

Feelings of hatred and violence weaken us.

Those who choose the path of violence have no faith in democracy.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 208, 350, 348, 328, 242: from addresses on various occasions.

A S O L D I E R

A soldier is a very excellent person in his own domain but somebody once said—I think it was a French statesman—

that even war was too serious a thing to be handed over to a soldier to control, much less peace. The incursion of the military mentality in the Chancellories of the world is a dangerous development. How can we meet it? I confess that we in India cannot make too much of a difference. Of course, we cannot take the world on our shoulders and remodel it according to our heart's desire; but we can help in creating a climate of peace which is so essential for the realization of our objectives.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 249: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 18, 1953.

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE TO WAR

Many people criticized with considerable sarcasm what seemed to them the absurd notion of resisting an invading army with these methods of non-violent non-co-operation. Yet far from being absurd, it was the only method, and a very brave method, left to the people. The advice was not offered to the armed forces, nor was peaceful resistance put forward as an alternative to armed resistance. That advice was meant only for the unarmed civilian population which almost invariably submits to the invader when its armed forces are defeated or withdrawn. Apart from the regular armed forces, it is possible to organize guerrilla units to harass the enemy. But this was not possible for us, for it requires training, arms, and the full co-operation of the regular army. And even if some guerrilla units could have been trained, the rest of the population remained. Normally the civilian population is expected to submit to enemy occupation. Indeed it was known that directions had been issued by the British authorities in certain threatened areas advising submission, even by some of the petty officials, to the enemy when the army and the higher officials withdrew.

We knew perfectly well that peaceful non-co-operation could not stop an advancing enemy force. We knew also that most of the civilian inhabitants would find it difficult to resist even if they wanted to do so. Nevertheless we hoped that some leading personalities in the towns and villages occupied by the enemy would refuse to submit or carry out the enemy's orders, or help in getting provisions or in any

other way. That would have meant swift punishment for them, very probably death as well as reprisals. We expected this non-submission and resistance to death even of a limited number of persons to have a powerful effect on the general population not only in the area concerned but in the rest of India. Thus we hoped that a national spirit of resistance might be built up.

The Discovery of India, pp. 564-5.

I WAS FASCINATED BY THE PROSPECT OF A
JAPANESE INVASION

Much as I hated war, the prospect of a Japanese invasion of India had in no way frightened me. At the back of my mind I was in a sense attracted to this coming of war, horrible as it was, to India. For I wanted a tremendous shake-up, a personal experience for millions of people, which would drag them out of that peace of the grave that Britain had imposed on us. Something that would force them to face the reality of today and to outgrow their past which clung to them so tenaciously, to get beyond the petty political squabbles and exaggerations of temporary problems which filled their minds. Not to break with the past, and yet not to live in it; realize the present and look to the future. . . . To change the rhythm of life and make it in tune with this present and the future. The cost of war was heavy and the consequences full of uncertainty. The war was not of our seeking but since it had come, it could be made to harden the fibre of the nation and provide those vital experiences out of which a new life might blossom forth. Vast numbers would die, that was inevitable, but it is better to die in war than through famine; it is better to die than to live a miserable, hopeless life. Out of death, life is born afresh, and individuals and nations who do not know how to die, do not know also how to live. 'Only where there are graves are there resurrections.'

The Discovery of India, p. 566.

Nationalism and Internationalism

NATIONALISM

Nationalism has a place in each country and should be fostered, but it must not be allowed to become aggressive and come in the way of international development.

Independence and After, p. 300.

National isolation is neither a desirable nor a possible ideal in a world which is daily becoming more of a unit.

India and the World, p. 61.

The only possibility of achieving real peace lies in greater and greater international co-operation on every plane.

Independence and After, p. 313.

The narrow outlook of nationalism has made us think of separate countries far more than of the oneness of the world and the common interests of different countries.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 758

Nationalism is a narrowing creed, and nationalism in conflict with a dominating imperialism produces all manner of frustrations and complexes.

The Discovery of India, p. 404.

Nationalism is good in its place, but it is an unreliable friend and an unsafe historian. It blinds us to many happenings and sometimes distorts the truth, especially when it concerns us or our country.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 694.

THE NATIONALIST IDEAL

The nationalist ideal is deep and strong; it is not a thing of the past with no future significance. But other ideals, more

based on the ineluctable facts of today, have risen, the international ideal and the proletarian ideal, and there must be some kind of fusion between these various ideals if we are to have a world equilibrium and a lessening of conflict. The abiding appeal of nationalism to the spirit of man has to be recognized and provided for, but its sway limited to a narrower sphere.

The Discovery of India, p. 46.

NATIONALISM MAKES MEN CONCEITED

In every matter, be it education, science, culture, or anything else, I dislike nothing so much as the narrowly nationalistic approach which makes us think that we have attained the summit of wisdom and that we need not learn anything more.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 70: from speech at the Silver Jubilee of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 17, 1952.

NATIONALISM AND WORLD SECURITY

Lord Cecil has pointed out the dangers of an intensive nationalism. May I say that I entirely agree with him, and, though I stand for Indian nationalism and Indian independence, I do so on a basis of true internationalism. We in India will gladly co-operate in a world order and even agree to give up a measure of national sovereignty, in common with others, in favour of a system of collective security. But that can come only when nations associate on a basis of peace and freedom.

There can be no world security founded on the subjection of colonial countries or on the continuance of imperialism. Freedom, like peace and war, is today indivisible. If the aggressors of today have to be checked, the aggressors of yesterday have also to be called to account. Because we have sought to cover up past evil, though it still persists, we have been powerless to check the new evil of today.

The Unity of India, p. 279.

A NATION'S PERSONALITIES

A nation, like an individual, has many personalities, many approaches to life. If there is a sufficiently strong organic bond between these different personalities, it is well; otherwise those personalities split up and lead to disintegration and trouble. Normally, there is a continuous process of adjustment going on and some kind of an equilibrium is established. If normal development is arrested, or sometimes if there is rapid change which is not easily assimilated, then conflict arises between those different personalities. In the mind and spirit of India, below the surface of our superficial conflicts and divisions, there has been this fundamental conflict due to a long period of arrested growth. A society, if it is to be both stable and progressive, must have a certain more or less fixed foundation of principles as well as a dynamic outlook. Both appear to be necessary. Without the dynamic outlook there is stagnation and decay; without some fixed basis of principle there is likely to be disintegration and destruction.

The Discovery of India, p. 615.

A NATION DOES NOT DIE

A nation does not die. Men and women come and go, but the nation goes on. It has something of the eternal about it.

Independence and After, p. 127: from address at the Special Convocation of Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

PAST KARMA PURSUES NATIONS

Since the last war, Europe has been tied up to a number of grave problems and conflicts. If I may say so, the past *karma* of Europe pursues it. We cannot easily get rid of the curse of our past *karma*; it pursues our country in various ways.

Independence and After, p. 251: from a speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

ISOLATION DANGEROUS FOR NATIONS AND
INDIVIDUALS

It is a dangerous thing to isolate oneself; dangerous both for an individual and a nation.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 430.

PRIDE IN ONE'S COUNTRY IS GOOD BUT TOO
MUCH OF IT IS BAD

If you go to other countries, you will find the people there think that their country is the chosen country, the torch-bearer of civilization, the most advanced country, the most revolutionary country, the country with the biggest buildings, the country with something unique, some mission or other. It is natural for one to like one's own country and one's own people. It would be unnatural not to do so. It is good to be a little proud of one's own country. But it is wrong to start imagining that we are the highest and best in the world. The fact is that every country and every people have admirable qualities about them; they have great achievements to their credit, and they have also bad periods in their history. This applies not to countries only but to individuals also. Nobody is perfect; he has weaknesses and failings. Nobody is thoroughly bad either. We are all mixtures of good and evil. But we shall try to further the good in ourselves and in others.

Most of you did not probably see Gandhiji at close quarters. He had amazing qualities. One of these qualities was that he managed to draw out the good in another person. The other person may have had plenty of evil in him. But he somehow spotted the good and laid emphasis on that good. The result was that the poor man had to try to be good. He could not help it. He would feel a little ashamed when he did something wrong.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 473-4: from address at the Second Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, October 23, 1955.

NARROW MINDEDNESS

No nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

Independence and After, p. 6: from a message to the Press from New Delhi, August 15, 1947.

CONFLICT BETWEEN RACES

No individual can wholly rid himself of his racial outlook and cultural limitation, and when there is conflict between races and countries even an attempt at impartiality is considered a betrayal of one's own people. War, which is an extreme example of this conflict, results in a deliberate throwing overboard of all fairness and impartiality so far as the enemy nation is concerned; the mind coarsens and becomes closed to almost all avenues of approach except one. The overpowering need of the moment is to justify one's actions and condemn and blacken those of the enemy. Truth hides somewhere at the bottom of the deepest well and falsehood, naked and unashamed, reigns almost supreme.

The Discovery of India, p. 339.

OBSCURANTISM IS NOT NATIONALISM

My friend, the Hon. Mr Tyagi, took exception to the ceremonial that was observed when the President came in. He thought that it was too English and that we should have conches or some other ancient instrument blowing when he came in. Whether he meant it seriously or not, I do not know; but it does raise an interesting point for the consideration of the House. We are anxious to have our own customs and our own ceremonials in India. When we adopt a certain practice or ceremonial which comes from foreign countries, I suppose, it has a certain meaning. Both in our Constitution and in our judicial system, we have very largely followed the practice of foreign countries and more especially that of the British Parliament. Would the Hon. Member, who complained, like us to have armies after the model of the *Mahabharata* and use weapons which were used five hundred years ago? I say this because there is a tendency in

this country to support obscurantism in the name of nationalism. We often seem to confuse the great things of the past with its minor trappings. There is thus the danger that the great things may suffer while the minor trappings may flourish. Therefore, we must be careful in these matters. India suffered enough in the past by being caught up in the minor trappings. India became a slave country because she did not keep pace with the world. Nationalism is a great and vital force and, if we give up any part of the genius of our people, we lose a great deal thereby; we become rootless. At the same time, nationalism often covers a multitude of sins and a multitude of things that are dead and gone.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 262: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 3, 1950.

Panchsheel

THE CONCEPT OF PANCHSHEEL

All that we have suggested and sought to bring about is that great countries should face each other, talk to each other and decide their problems themselves. It is not for us to advise them what to do. We can at best remove some obstacles which have arisen during the last few years.

India's contribution in this direction may perhaps be put in one word or two, Panchsheel, and the ideas underlying it. There is nothing new about those ideas except their application to a particular context. And the House will notice that ever since these ideas of peaceful coexistence were initially mentioned and promulgated, not only have they spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but they have progressively acquired a greater depth and meaning. That is, from being a word used rather loosely, Panchsheel has begun to acquire a specific meaning and significance in world affairs.

I think we may take some credit for spreading this conception of a peaceful settlement, and above all, of non-interference. That each country should carve out its own destiny without interfering with others is an important conception, though there is nothing new about it. No great truths may be new. But it is true that an idea like non-interference requires emphasis because there has been in the past a tendency for great countries to interfere with others, to bring pressure to bear upon them, and to want these others to line up with them. I suppose that is a natural result of bigness. It has taken place throughout history.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 306-7: from a speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, September 17, 1955.

THE FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PANCHSHEEL

It is in recognition of the right of each country to fashion

its own destiny that the Indian Government and the People's Government of China agreed to the five principles to govern their relations with each other. These principles were: Respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; Non-aggression; Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; Equality and mutual benefit; and Peaceful co-existence. Subsequently these principles were accepted by Burma and Yugo-Slavia, and the Soviet Government has also expressed its approval of them.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 303: from statement at the Dynamo Stadium, Moscow, June 22, 1955.

PANCHSHEEL NOT NEW TO INDIA

About a month ago a huge meeting was held in Calcutta which was a kind of public reception to the Soviet leaders who were here. Reference was made to Panchsheel at that meeting. I ventured to say that Panchsheel was no new idea to the Indian mind and that it was inherent in Indian thinking and in Indian culture. Panchsheel ultimately is the message of tolerance. I quoted at that mighty meeting Asoka's edicts and said: 'This is the basis of Indian culture and Panchsheel flows from it.'

Speeches (1953-57), p. 177: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, December 21, 1955.

IDEA OF PANCHSHEEL HAS RAISED INDIA IN WORLD'S ESTEEM

By thinking of Panchsheel and peaceful co-existence in this wide, warring world, we have gained a measure of respect and attention. We have been able to gain this respect because our thinking has been correct and based on principles which are not opportunist and also because the broad policies we have laid down have not been very divergent from the action we have taken; that is, there has been an approximation between our ideals and action in our foreign policy. I do not say they coincide absolutely, but there has been an approximation, and this has been a source of strength to us. It is the conflict between one's ideals and one's actions that leads to bad results and to frustration in the individual,

group or nation. Where individuals, groups or nations are able to act according to their ideals, they achieve results.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 177: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, December 21, 1955.

PANCHSHEEL

The conception of Panchsheel means that there may be different ways of progress, possibly different outlooks, but that, broadly, the ultimate objectives may be the same. If I may use another type of analogy, truth is not confined to one country or one people; it has far too many aspects for anyone to presume that he knows all, and each country and each people, if they are true to themselves, have to find out their path for themselves, through trial and error, through suffering and experience. Only then do they grow. If they merely copy others, the result is likely to be that they will not grow. And even the copy may be completely good, it will be something undertaken by them without a normal growth of the mind which really makes it an organic part of themselves.

Our development in the past thirty years or so has been under Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from what he did for us or did not do, the development of this country under his leadership was organic. It was something which fitted in with the spirit and thinking of India. Yet it was not isolated from the modern world, and we fitted in with the modern world. This process of adaptation will go on. It is something which grows out of the mind and spirit of India, though it is affected by our learning many things from outside. Likewise this idea of Panchsheel lays down the very important truth that each people must ultimately fend for itself. I am not thinking in terms of military fending, but in terms of striving intellectually, morally, spiritually, and in terms of opening out all our windows to ideas from others, and learning from the experience of others. Each country should look upon such an endeavour on the part of the other with sympathy and friendly understanding and without any interference or imposition.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 307-8: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, September 17, 1955.

The Bandung Conference has been a historic event. If it only met, the meeting itself would have been a great achievement, as it would have represented the emergence of a new Asia and Africa, of new nations who are on the march towards the fulfilment of their independence and of their sense of their role in the world. Bandung proclaimed the political emergence in world affairs of over half the world's population. It presented no unfriendly challenge or hostility to anyone but proclaimed a new and rich contribution. Happily that contribution is not by way of threat or force or the creation of new power blocs. Bandung proclaimed to the world the capacity of the new nations of Asia and Africa for practical idealism, for we conducted our business in a short time and reached agreements of practical value, not quite usual with international conferences. We did not permit our sense of unity or our success to drive us into isolation and egocentricity. Each major decision of the conference happily refers to the United Nations and to world problems and ideals. We believe that from Bandung our great organization, the United Nations, has derived strength. This means in turn that Asia and Africa must play an increasing role in the conduct and the destiny of the world organization. . . . To those still dependent, but are struggling for freedom, Bandung presented hope to sustain them in their courageous fight and in their struggle for freedom and justice.

While the achievements and the significance of the meeting at Bandung have been great and epoch-making, it would be a mis-reading of history to regard Bandung as though it was an isolated occurrence and not part of a great movement of human history. It is this latter that is the more correct and historical view to take.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 300-1: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, April 30, 1955.

One World

ONE WORLD

We have arrived at a stage in human affairs when the ideal of One World and some kind of World Federation seems to be essential, though there are many dangers and obstacles in the way. We should work for that ideal and not for any grouping which comes in the way of this larger world group. We, therefore, support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have One World, we must also, in Asia, think of the countries of Asia co-operating together for that larger ideal.

Independence and After, p. 299: from speech inaugurating the Asian Conference at New Delhi, March 23, 1947.

INDIA'S IDEAL IS THE REALIZATION OF ONE WORLD

So it is not a question of our (India) remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world. We do not wish to be isolated. We wish to have the closest contacts, because we do from the beginning firmly believe in the world coming closer together and ultimately realizing the ideal of what is now being called One World.

Independence and After, p. 257: from speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

A WORLD ORDER SHOULD BE SET UP

I mentioned to you the growing solidarity of the various peoples, their feeling of international fellowship and comradeship because of this crisis. The growth of this international fellowship would be jeopardized by the exclusion of nations who want to be friendly. . . . So if you look at the

world as it is today, you may find countries who for some reason or another will not join a world order, but that is no reason why we should not start to build up that world order, and not limit it to a certain number of nations.

The Unity of India, p. 272.

PHILOSOPHY OF FORCE IS A FAILURE

What then are we to do? What shall we aim at and what road shall we travel by? It is of the foremost importance that we should not lose ourselves in the passion and prejudice of the moment. If we are to aim high, we should adhere to the high principles which have always formed the background of Indian thought from the days of the Buddha to our own day when Gandhiji showed us the path to right action. Greatness comes from vision, the tolerance of the spirit, compassion and an even temper which is not ruffled by ill fortune or good fortune. It is not through hatred and violence or internal discord that we make real progress. As in the world today, so also in our own country, the philosophy of force can no longer pay and our progress must be based on peaceful co-operation and tolerance of each other.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 103: from a broadcast from All India Radio, Delhi, December 31, 1952.

MOCKERY OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Nothing proves the unreality and mockery of international politics today so much as the failure of all attempts at disarmament. Everybody talks of peace and yet prepares for war. The Kellogg-Briand Pact outlaws war, but who remembers it now or cares for it?

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 1271.

A WORLD COMMONWEALTH OR — ?

Another era of imperialism, or an age of international co-operation, or world commonwealth, which is it going to be in the future? The scales incline towards the former and

the old arguments are repeated but not with the old candour. The moral urges of mankind and its sacrifices are used for base ends, and rulers exploit the goodness and nobility of man for evil purposes and take advantage of the fears, hatreds and false ambitions of the people. They used to be more frank about empire in the old days. Speaking of the Athenian Empire, Thucydides wrote: 'We make no fine profession of having a right to our empire because we overthrew the Barbarian single-handed, or because we risked our existence for the sake of our dependents and of civilisation. States, like men, cannot be blamed for providing for their proper safety. If we are now here in Sicily, it is in the interest of our own security. . . . It is Fear that forces us to cling to our Empire in Greece, and it is Fear that drives us hither, with the help of our friends, to order matters in Sicily.' And again when he referred to the tribute of the Athenian colonies: 'It may seem wickedness to have won it; but it is certainly folly to let it go.'

The Discovery of India, p. 670.

ALTERNATIVE TO WORLD CO-OPERATION

The alternative to world co-operation is world disaster.

Independence and After, p. 123: from speech at the Annual Convocation of the Muslim University, Aligarh, January 24, 1948.

THE WORLD TENDS TO BECOME ONE IN PEACE AND WAR

We might note that the world progressively tends to become one—one in peace and it is likely to be one, in a sense of war.

Independence and After, p. 232: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

GROWTH OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE

If you look at the political field or the economic field or any other field, you find two slightly contradictory tenden-

cies. One is the tendency to centralize. Now, centralization is inevitable in the modern world, whether it is government or of any other kind. It may give you better results, it may develop better efficiency and all the rest of it, although a stage arrives in the process of centralization when perhaps efficiency does not grow but lessens. The other tendency is, shall I say, the growth of individual, human freedom. Undoubtedly, the greater the centralization, the less the individual freedom, even though the results obtained might be better. Some people prefer the processes of decentralization because they allow the individual to grow more. On the other hand, there are certain very important things in modern life which cannot be decentralized if you want any progress at all. Well, you have got to balance all these things but the main thing is that the growth of the individual human being or group cannot be imposed. A human being grows and ought to grow like a flower or a plant. You cannot pull it out; you can water it, you can help it grow; you can give it good soil; you can put it in the fresh or in the sun. But it has to grow itself; you cannot make it grow by force. Many of our people sometimes think that you could make something grow by some decree from above but you cannot.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 72: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 17, 1952.

The United Nations Organization

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS A NOBLE DOCUMENT

We have associated ourselves with the United Nations. This association does not deprive us of our independence. Of course, it limits our freedom in the sense in which it limits the freedom of every member country. That some limit should be placed on your field of action is the natural consequence of joining an organization of that nature. Our membership of the United Nations is a far greater limitation than our association with the Commonwealth of Nations. In fact, the latter is almost an airy association, because it is not written down on paper or in any constitution or anywhere else; so long as we wish to be there, we can remain there.

To come back to the United Nations, we associated ourselves with the United Nations because we felt that some such world organization was very essential. The League of Nations had failed. The UNO seemed to be a similar attempt under wider and perhaps better auspices and so we joined it. I shall think that the Charter of the United Nations is a very fine and noble document.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 222-3: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, June 12, 1952.

THE UNITED NATIONS SERVES AN ESSENTIAL PURPOSE

In spite of its faults, the United Nations serves an essential purpose. If it did not exist today, undoubtedly, all the countries would come together to build up something like it again. I do not want that to happen. I attach the greatest importance to the United Nations but I must repeat that the United Nations has swerved from its original moorings and gradually become a protector of colonialism in an indirect way. This is a dangerous deviation. Instead of looking

upon it as a great organization for peace, some of its members have gradually begun to think of it as an organization through which war can be waged.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 223: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, June 12, 1952.

FAITH IN UNO TO SOLVE WORLD PROBLEMS

I have no doubt that this Assembly is going to solve our problems. . . . We do not think that the problems of the world or of India can be solved by thinking in terms of aggression or war or violence. We are frail mortals and we cannot always live up to the teaching of the great man who led our nation to freedom. But that lesson has sunk deep into our souls and, so long as we remember it, I am sure we shall be on the right path. And if I may venture to suggest this to the General Assembly, I think that if the essentials of that lesson are kept in mind, perhaps our approach to the problems of today will be different; perhaps the conflicts that always hang over us will appear a little less deep than they are and actually will gradually fade away . . .

No one can be optimistic enough to think that all problems will fade away simply if we feel good; that is not what I mean to say. The problems are difficult and intricate and they will take a lot of solving. But I do feel that our approach to those problems should not be the approach of anger and passion and fear. Then, perhaps, the problems will gradually appear in a different light. Perhaps, we shall understand the other side better; perhaps, the fear of one another will grow less in our minds, and then a solution may come.

Independence and After, pp. 322-4: from address to the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, November 3, 1948.

THE UNITED NATIONS THE BASIS OF A WORLD GOVERNMENT

The United Nations, in spite of its failings and weaknesses, is something that is good. It should be encouraged and supported in every way, and should be allowed to develop into

some kind of world government or world order.

Independence and After, p. 214: from speech in Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1948.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

This great organization built for peace is itself engaged in sponsoring war today. I am not blaming anybody but only trying to analyse the situation as objectively as I can. Is it possible that the world has not grown up and is incapable of having an international organization for peace? I do not know. People talk about a united world; many wise, intelligent and ardent people advocate the ideal of world federalism but we again and again prove ourselves unable to give effect to it. Is it possible for countries entirely different from one another in their political, economic and other policies to co-operate or must they remain apart? There was a time, centuries ago, when it did not much matter whether they did or not because there was no natural contact. Today, there is continuous contact, which can be friendly or hostile. I find myself wondering again and again whether an international organization, containing within its core countries with entirely different aims, can exist. I feel sure it can and, what is more, see no reason why it should not function efficiently. After all when the United Nations was started countries like the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. did co-operate and come together before they drifted apart. For my part, I do not see why they should not be able to function together in an organization, provided, of course, they did not interfere with one another and so long as each was free to carry on the policy it chose for itself.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 246-7: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 18, 1953.

INDIA CONTINUES IN THE UNO DESPITE DISAPPOINTMENTS

We respect the United Nations and are all for a world organization dealing with such matters. It is right that we should remain a member of the United Nations, even though

things do not always happen according to our wishes. We have made it perfectly clear that we are not willing to jeopardize the interests of the people of Kashmir or those of our own people. Nobody will be allowed to impose anything dishonourable upon us. We have decided to await the verdict of the Security Council, however long it may be in coming. The way of peace is always the better and, in the longer run, the shorter way. The way of war is no way at all, for it solves nothing.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 207: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 12, 1952.

GREATER CONSERVATISM APPARENT IN THE UNO

As the war has developed and the danger of a possible victory of the Fascist Powers has receded, there has been a progressive hardening and a greater conservatism in the leaders of the United Nations. The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, vague as they were and limited in scope, have faded into the background, and the future has been envisaged more and more as a retention of the past. The struggle has taken a purely military shape, of physical force against force, and has ceased to be an attack on the philosophy of the Nazis and the Fascists.

The Discovery of India, p. 655.

DISAPPEARANCE OF UNO A WORLD TRAGEDY

I have ventured, in all humility, sometimes to criticize those developments at the United Nations which seemed to me to be out of keeping with its Charter and its past record and professions. Nevertheless, I have believed and I do believe that the United Nations, in spite of its many faults, in spite of its having deviated from its aims somewhat, is, nevertheless, a basic and fundamental thing in the structure of the world today. Not to have it or to do away with it would be a tragedy for the world. Therefore, I do not wish this country of ours to do anything which weakens the gradual development of some kind of a world structure. It may be that

the real world structure will not come in our lifetime but unless that world structure comes, there is no hope for this world, because the only alternative is world conflict on a prodigious and tremendous scale. Therefore, it would be wrong for us to do anything that weakens the beginnings of a world structure, even though we may disagree with this particular organization and even though we may sometimes criticize it, as we have done.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 349: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, August 7, 1952.

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE UNO

Some Honourable Members have suggested, in a fit of frustration, that we should withdraw from the United Nations. That, if I may say so, with all respect, is immaturity. One cannot run away like this from a problem. The United Nations, in spite of all its failings—and there are many—is a great world organization. It does contain within it the seeds of hope and peace, and it would be rather perverse for any country to try to destroy this structure because it is not to its entire liking. If a country does that, I have no doubt that it is that country which will suffer more than the organization. We cannot remain isolated in the world, cut off from everything and living a life of our own in our limited sphere. Most of us in India are so situated as to be normally isolated in our minds, in our social habits like eating, drinking and marrying. We isolate ourselves in castes, with the result that it is a unique Indian habit which does not prevail anywhere else in the world. We live in compartments, and therefore, perhaps, we easily think in terms of isolation as a country too. But the fact is that isolation in the past has weakened us very greatly and left us rather in the lurch when the world had advanced in terms of science or other developments. We cannot be isolated; in fact, no country can be. Therefore, to talk of getting out of the United Nations or of otherwise keeping apart from all these problems is not to take cognizance of the realities of the situation.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 243-4: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, September 17, 1953.

Man does not live by politics alone, nor, indeed, wholly by economics. And so UNESCO came into being to represent something that was vital to human existence and progress. Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community, UNESCO tried to represent the finer and the deeper sides of human life, and, indeed, might be said to represent the conscience of the world community . . .

I have called this great assembly the conscience of the world community. The problems we have to face, many and complicated as they are, will never be solved except on the basis of good morals and conscience. It is for this reason that I beg of you, distinguished delegates from the nations of the world, to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for unless we do so our fine ideals and the good work you have done will be shattered into nothingness.

May I also point out to you that a world organization like this cannot be properly constituted or function adequately if a large section of the world remains unrepresented here? I hope that three countries which have recently attained their independence—the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco—will find a place soon in this organization to share the burdens and responsibilities of its labours. But I would specially refer to the People's Government of China and the six hundred million people who live in that great country who have so far not been represented here . . .

Our country is a large one and our population is considerable. But we have no desire to interfere with any other country. We have no hatreds and we have been nurtured under the inspiring guidance of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, in the ways of peace. We want to be friends with all the world. We know our failings and seek to overcome them, so that we might be of service to our own people and to the world.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 500, 503: from speech at the inauguration of the Tenth Annual Session of UNESCO, New Delhi, November 5, 1956.

THE U.N. A POWER FOR PEACE

I have no doubt that the United Nations Organization—with all its weaknesses in enforcing decisions—has been a power for peace in the world; and it may grow that way. That depends really on widespread public opinion.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, p. 87.

INDIA NOT AFRAID OF THE FUTURE

I am not afraid of the future. I have no fear in my mind, and I have no fear, even though India, from a military point of view, is of no great consequence. I am not afraid of the bigness of great Powers, and their armies, their fleets and their atom bombs. That is the lesson which my Master taught me. We stood as an unarmed people against a great country and a powerful empire. We were supported and strengthened, because throughout all this period we decided not to submit to evil, and I think that is the lesson which I have before me and which is before us today. I do not know if it is possible to apply this to the problems which face the world today. It is a terrible problem, but I think if we banish fear, if we have confidence, even though we may take risks of trust rather than risk violent language, violent actions and in the end war, I think those risks are worth taking.

Independence and After, p. 322: from Address to the United Nations General Assembly at Paris, on November 3, 1948.

APARTHEID AND THE U.N.

Apartheid is opposed to the whole spirit of modern thought, opposed to the U.N. Charter and contrary to the United Nations. The effect of racial relations is obviously a problem that fills people's minds in the Commonwealth Conference and outside. Apart from the morality of it, it is a danger to world peace; also from that point of view it has to be considered.

The Hindu, May 3, 1960: from press interview to world correspondents at India House, London, during the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference.

A Commonwealth of Nations

A COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Now we are often told that instead of the imperialist conception, we should develop the conception of the commonwealth of nations. This is a phrase which appeals to one, because we all want a commonwealth of nations in this world. But if we think in terms of an empire gradually being transformed into a commonwealth, almost retaining its own structure economically and politically, then it seems to me that we are likely to delude ourselves very greatly. We cannot have a real commonwealth of nations born of empire. It must have different parents.

The Unity of India, p. 271.

INDIA JOINS THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

I want to tell you that I have not the least doubt in my mind that I have adhered in letter and in spirit to every pledge that I, in common with millions of my countrymen, have taken in regard to the independence of India during the past twenty years and more. I am convinced that far from injuring the honour or interest of India, the action I took in London has kept that honour bright and shining and enhanced her position in the world.

I have naturally looked to the interests of India, for that is my first duty. I have always conceived that duty in terms of the larger good of the world. That is the lesson that our Master taught us and he told us also to pursue the ways of peace and of friendship with others, always maintaining the freedom and dignity of India. The world is full of strife today and disaster looms on the horizon. In men's hearts there is hatred and fear and suspicion which cloud their vision. Every step, therefore, which leads to a lessening of this tension in the world, should be a welcome step. I think it is a good augury for the future that the old conflict be-

tween India and England should be resolved in this friendly way which is honourable to both countries. There are too many disruptive forces in the world for us to throw our weight in favour of further disruption and any opportunity that offers itself to heal old wounds and to further the cause of co-operation should be welcomed.

It has been India's privilege in the past to be a meeting place for many cultures. It may be her privilege in the present and the future to be a bridge to join warring factions and to help in maintaining the most urgent thing of today and the future—the peace of the world. It is in the belief that India could more effectively pursue this policy of encouraging peace and freedom and of lessening the bitter hatreds and tensions in the world, that I willingly agreed to the London agreement. I associated myself with the decisions taken in London at the Prime Ministers' meeting in the full belief that they were the right decisions for our country and for the world.

Independence and After, pp. 266-7: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, May 10, 1949.

INDIA REMAINS IN THE COMMONWEALTH FOR INFLUENCING ITS POLICIES

Our association with the Commonwealth is remarkable in that it does not bind us down in any way whatsoever and, if I may repeat, it has not done so during the last two or three years either. It has given us certain advantages without our having to accept any liabilities in return. I know some Honourable Members do not like the idea of our being in the Commonwealth. Their dislike is regrettable and I cannot help it, since we are concerned only with the advantages our country gains. Now, Ceylon and South Africa are both members of the Commonwealth and we may well be asked why we put up with what is happening in those countries. If any Honourable members want us to withdraw from the Commonwealth on principle, my answer would be that what they object to is precisely the reason why we should remain in the Commonwealth. I shall explain what I mean. By doing so, we have better chances of being able to influence the larger policies of the Commonwealth than we other-

wise would. Being in the Commonwealth means a meeting once or twice a year and occasional consultations and references. Surely, that is not too great a price to pay for the advantages we get. If the Commonwealth had the right to interfere with any constituent country, then I should certainly cease to be in the Commonwealth. If any Honourable members think that the nations of the Commonwealth have common war or defence policies, allow me to assure them that they are completely mistaken. We have never discussed defence policies in the Commonwealth, either jointly or separately.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 219-20: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, June 12, 1952.

CONTINUANCE IN THE COMMONWEALTH IS FOR INDIA'S GOOD

We join the Commonwealth, obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain, because they think it is beneficial to them. It is mutually understood that it is to the advantage of the nations in the Commonwealth and therefore they join. At the same time, it is made perfectly clear that each country is completely free to go its way; it may be that they may go, sometimes go so far as to break away from the Commonwealth. In the world today where there are so many disruptive forces at work, where we are often on the verge of war, I think it is not a safe thing to encourage the breaking up of any association that one has. Break up the evil part of it; break up anything that may come in the way of your growth, because nobody dare agree to anything which comes in the way of a nation's growth. Otherwise, apart from breaking the evil parts of the association, it is better to keep a co-operative association going which may do good in this world rather than break it.

Independence and After, pp. 275-6: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, May 16, 1949.

I HAVE RESPECT FOR ENGLAND AND HER PEOPLE

I hope this House has respect for the way England has tackled her problems since the war and the courage with which she has faced them. In many places, England certainly does things with which neither I nor this House can agree but that is beside the point. Let us see things in their historical perspective. As far as power is concerned, Britain is no longer what she used to be before the last war. Today, there are, for good or ill, other and greater Powers. I repeat that since the war years I have nurtured considerable respect for England, because I like brave people fighting against odds and the British people have fought against heavy odds.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 214: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, June 12, 1952.

THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND

You will remember the magnificent example of which both England and India have reason to be proud. Both of us, in spite of long continued conflict, approached our problems with this basic temper of peace and we not only resolved them but produced, at the same time, abiding understanding and friendship. That is a great example which we might well bear in mind whenever any other crisis in the relations of nations confronts us. That is the only civilized approach to problems and leaves no ill-will or bitterness behind.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 134: from a broadcast from B.B.C., London, January 12, 1951.

INDIA RETAINS BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

The House knows that inevitably during the last century and more all kinds of contacts have arisen between England and this country (India); many of them were bad and we have struggled throughout our lives to put an end to them. Many of them were not so bad, many of them may be good and many of them, irrespective of what they are, good or bad, are there. Here I am the patent example of these

contacts, speaking in this Honourable House in the English language. No doubt we are going to change that language for our use, but the fact remains that I am doing so and the fact remains that most other members who will speak will also do so. The fact remains that we are functioning here under certain rules and regulations for which the model has been the British Constitution. Those laws which exist today have been largely forged by them. Gradually, the laws which are good we will keep and those that are bad we will throw away. Any marked change in this without something to follow creates a hiatus which may be harmful. Largely our educational apparatus has been influenced. Largely our military apparatus has been influenced by these considerations and we have grown up naturally as something rather like the British Army. I am placing before the House certain entirely practical considerations. If we break away completely, the result is that without making sufficient provision for carrying on in a different way, we have a period of gap. Of course, if we have to pay a price, we may choose to do so. If we do not want to pay the price, we should not pay it and face the consequences.

Independence and After, pp. 276-7: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, May 16, 1949.

COMMONWEALTH RELATIONSHIP HAS NOT INFLUENCED OUR POLICY

The Commonwealth relationship has not come in our way in the slightest. We have often differed from the policies and practice of the other Commonwealth countries. We have discussed with them and differed. Only recently—and this matter, no doubt, will have larger consequences—there was the pact which is called the Baghdad Pact, which, we think, is a most unfortunate and deplorable action on the part of the countries who have joined it, deplorable not from our point of view, but from the point of view of peace and security. Though such action is taken, it has not affected our policy. On the other hand, I do think that our association with the Commonwealth has been of great help to the larger cause of

peace and co-operation.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 312: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, December 5, 1955.

RELATION BETWEEN INDIA AND ENGLAND INDEFINABLE

The manner of relationship which was evolved between India and England is of a different kind and of a different texture. Because we had known each other both in conflict and in co-operation, and had settled our conflicts in a civilized, human way, we have survived many things, many differences of opinion. That is because we fundamentally wished for and developed the mood to co-operate as far as possible and to co-operate even if we differed. It is a little difficult to define that relationship because it is indefinable, and it is often the indefinable things that are the most important and the most precious of all.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 479: from speech at Banquet for the Earl and Countess Mountbatten, New Delhi, March 15, 1956.

THE COMMONWEALTH MAKES CO-EXISTENCE POSSIBLE

Even more important than the setting up of some institutions which functioned in a parliamentary way is the content of those institutions. The Commonwealth, I hope, represents not only those democratic institutions but in a considerable measure the content of democracy.

We have to face tremendous strains all the time. In the past we have faced them and we have survived them as a Commonwealth. We may have to face them in the future because the world is full of strain and trouble and conflict, accompanied by fear and apprehension and it is not an easy matter to maintain the temper of democracy. Democracy, in other words, is peaceful co-existence not only between those who are like each other but also between those who are unlike each other. It is easy to co-exist when you are like each other. It involves no problems, no effort. But when you differ in opinion, in ways of life, even in objectives, and

yet forbear and try to understand the other, that is peaceful co-existence.

And what strikes me about the Commonwealth is not so much the points of likeness which are many, of course, but rather the points of difference which have not been allowed to come in the way of our meeting, conferring, consulting and co-operating with each other in a large measure. And if that is good for the Commonwealth, it should be good for others also in the larger sphere in the world, other countries where there are so many differences and which find it difficult to reconcile with each other.

The Hindu, December 3, 1959; from speech at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, New Delhi.

Fascism and Nazism

I HAVE ALWAYS CONDEMNED FASCISM AND NAZISM

There are few persons in India, I suppose, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voices against Fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them.

The Unity of India, p. 397.

FASCISM AND NAZISM KILLED THE SPIRIT

We have recently passed through a great world war. That war has not brought peace and freedom, but it should teach us many lessons. It brought the downfall of what had been called Fascism and Nazism. Both of these creeds were narrow and overbearing and based on hatred and violence. I watched their growth in their respective countries as well as elsewhere. They brought a certain prestige to their people for a while, but they also killed the spirit and destroyed all values and standards of thought and behaviour. They ended by ruining the nations they sought to exalt.

Independence and After, pp. 116-17: from speech at the Special Convocation of the Allahabad University, December 13, 1947.

FASCISM MORE DANGEROUS THAN IMPERIALISM

Striving for national freedom, we have inevitably become anti-imperialists and have resisted not only foreign domination in India but imperialism itself. We saw in fascism a development of and a more dangerous form of imperialism, and we condemned it. We looked upon the two as twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress.

The Unity of India, pp. 294-5,

FASCISM ENCOURAGED BY IMPERIALISM

Fascism crushed all progressive elements and set up new standards in cruelty and inhumanity. It gloried in brutality and openly aimed at war. Imperialist Powers talks in terms of democracy but aided and abetted fascism and helped it to grow. International morality decayed, all idea of collective action for peace was given up, and an unabashed gangsterism among nations grew up and was tolerated. Yet it was clear that only by collective action could the aggressor be stayed and peace maintained. A surrender to violence and aggression was no basis for peace, for the aggression and blackmail grew by every surrender and brought world war ever nearer. It was not difficult for this aggression to be checked and peace ensured if those Powers who believed in peace acted together, for their strength was far greater than that of the Fascist aggressor. But many of those very Powers who talked of peace and democracy were imperialist and they sympathized with fascism and encouraged it.

The Unity of India, p. 295.

THE NAZI THEORY OF THE HERRONVOLK

Since Hitler emerged from obscurity and became the Fuehrer of Germany, we have heard a great deal about racialism and the Nazi theory of the Herrenvolk. That doctrine has been condemned and is today condemned by the leaders of the United Nations. Biologists tells us that racialism is a myth and there is no such thing as a master race. But we in India have known racialism in all its forms ever since the commencement of British rule. The whole ideology of this rule was that of the Herrenvolk and the Master race, and the structure of government was based on it; indeed the idea of a master race is inherent in imperialism. There was no subterfuge about it; it was proclaimed in unambiguous language by those in authority. More powerful than words was the practice that accompanied them, and generation after generation and year after year, India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insult, humiliation, and contemptuous treatment. The English were an Imperial race, we were told, with the God-given right to govern us and keep us in subjection; if we protested we

were reminded of the 'tiger qualities of an imperial race'.
The Discovery of India, pp. 386-7.

FACISM AND INDIA

Our problems fill our minds. Yet the problem of problems today, overshadowing all else, is the growth and triumph of gangsterism in international affairs. The lights go out in Europe and elsewhere, the shadows increase, and in the darkness freedom is butchered and brutal violence reigns. Tragedy envelopes us, heart-breaking tragedy, as we see the death of nation after nation, the vast suffering and misery of millions of people crushed by barbarian feet. 'Brotherhood', 'Sisterhood' are bastard creeds, says Signor Mussolini; only the sword counts with him, the sword that kills freedom and democracy and puts an end to the culture and civilization of ages. Spain of the Republic and of freedom is no more, only the bright and imperishable memory of her glorious struggle remains, Czecho-Slovakia used to be on the map of Europe; it is no more, and Herr Hitler's minions trample on her brave children, betrayed so shamefully by England and France. From day to day we await in suspense what this dictator or that says; anxiously we wonder what the next aggression will be.

How does all this affect India? Dare we ignore these tremendous happenings in Europe? India's freedom will not be worth many days' purchase if Fascism and Nazism dominate the world. Only a union of freedom-loving peoples and their mutual co-operation can avert the common peril. For that union India must stand.

But let us not forget recent history. It is not Hitler or Mussolini who has created the present crisis in Europe. Ultimately it is the policy of the British government, supported by the French government. There is a great deal of talk of the democracies defending freedom against the onslaughts of Fascism. But it is these very so-called democracies of Western Europe that have helped and encouraged Fascism and Nazism and done to death the Spanish Republic and Czecho-Slovakia.

The Unity of India, pp. 148-49.

A spirit of adventure is of course a very desirable thing in an individual or a nation. But in a political contest the word has a certain meaning, not by any means dishonourable to the person concerned. I did not at all like this adventurist tendency and considered it harmful to our cause. The association of vague Leftist slogans with no clear Leftist ideology or principles has in recent years been much in evidence in Europe. It has led to Fascist development and a straying away of large sections of the public. The possibility of such a thing happening in India possessed my mind and disturbed me.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 347: from letter to Subhas Chandra Bose, dated April 3, 1939.

INDIA COULD NOT TOLERATE THE RACIAL VIEWS OF THE NAZIS

We, of all people, could not tolerate the racial views and racial oppression of the Nazis. The horror that enveloped Holland and Belgium, the supreme tragedy of France, moved us. The imminent peril of England made us feel that we should not add to her difficulties and embarrassments. Though England's ruling classes may have treated us badly and her imperialism may have crushed us, we had no ill-will for her people, who were bravely facing peril and extreme danger. We tried hard to find a way out, honourable and advantageous to both India and England.

The Unity of India, pp. 377-8.

RACIALISM

Racialism is an evil and has to be fought.

Independence and After, p. 288: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, May 17, 1949.

MY VISIT TO BARCELONA

My visit to Europe last year coincided with a period of intense crisis in the international sphere, and I put myself psychologically in tune with this by going straight to Barce-

lona, that 'flower of the fair cities of the world', as Cervantes called it. Alas, that this flower should be crushed today and enemy hands should hold this ancient home of liberty, which struggled for freedom even in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella! But when I visited this gracious city it was still the home of the unconquerable spirit of man which knows no defeat and reckons death and disaster as of little account in freedom's cause. Nightly I saw the bombs fall from the air, raining death and destruction on the populace. I saw the hungry crowds in the streets, the plight of the refugees; I visited the armies at the front and those brave young men of the International Brigade, so many of whom rest for ever in the soil of Spain. I came back full of the tragedy of Spain, which was being strangled not so much by enemies, but by those who called themselves the friends of democracy.

The Unity of India, pp. 113-14.

Art

A R T

Art is a faithful mirror to the life and civilization of a period.
Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 764.

Can you imagine any good life which does not have an artistic and an aesthetic element in it, and a moral element in it?

Independence and After, p. 401: from a commemorative speech on Sarojini Naidu delivered at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, on March 3, 1949.

I know nothing about art, eastern or western, and am not competent to say anything about it. I react to it as any untutored layman might do. Some painting or building or sculpture fills me with delight, or moves and makes me feel a strange emotion; or it just pleases me a little; or it does not affect me at all and I pass it by almost unnoticed; or it repels me. I cannot explain these reactions or speak learnedly about the merits or de-merits of works of art. The Buddha statue at Anuradhapura in Ceylon moved me greatly and a picture of it has been my companion for many years. On the other hand some famous temples in South India, heavy with carving and detail, disturb me and fill me with unease.

The Discovery of India, p. 241.

How can beauty and art flourish in a country which is not free? They wither away in the darkness of subjection and restraint.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 180.

Art and literature often give greater insight into a nation's

soul than the superficial activities of the multitude.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 807.

Art galleries and museums in a great city are like windows which look out on the broader, richer and deeper things of life.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 390: from speech at the inauguration of the National Art Treasures Fund, New Delhi, February 23, 1952.

Art does not, or should not, know national boundaries.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 774.

THE AESTHETIC LIFE TODAY

It is a very great pity that we in the cities have drifted so far away from the aesthetic side of life. We still have a good many folk songs and dances when we go to the villages, because modern civilization has more or less left them untouched. The progress of modern civilization in India involves both good things and bad. One of the things we have lost is the spirit of song and dance and the capacity for enjoyment and this is what the tribal people so abundantly have. We seem to pay too much attention to the cinema; it is undoubtedly an excellent medium for many good things but unfortunately it has not proved to be particularly inspiring. We must imbibe something of the spirit of the tribal folk instead of damping it with our long faces and black gowns.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 43-4: from the inaugural speech at the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference, New Delhi, June 7, 1952.

ARTISTRY IS NOT EXPENSIVE

A touch of artistry does not cost money, or costs very little. It really needs some imagination and some love of beauty in the men who build them. You can make the humblest cottage attractive and beautiful even though it might be a mud cottage, and you can make a big palace a thing of horror.

One often sees in India, recently erected, horrible buildings, big buildings, costly buildings, painful to look at. It is not a sense of money, but a sense of artistry. So far as great public buildings are concerned, they do become expensive because they are big. They have to be enduring, and to some extent symbolic also. . . . May I suggest that in more of our great public buildings we should encourage our young artists, our young sculptors, and our young painters to embellish them?

Speeches (1953-57), p. 466: from speech at laying the foundation stone of the new Corporation Building at Bangalore, October 6, 1955.

BEAUTIFUL BUILDINGS ARE BORN OUT OF
MEN'S FAITH IN WORK

To go back to the Middle Ages or even to older times, you still see the remains of ancient buildings, ancient structures, temples, cathedrals, mosques and the like. No one knows who built them, but any man who sees them knows that the people who built them were not only fine builders, fine engineers, but they were men of faith in their work. No man can build or construct anything beautiful unless he has faith. See the magnificent cathedrals of Europe. People seldom know who their builders were but we do know, because the evidence is there for our eyes to see, that the embodiment of the faith of the builder is the engineer. So also with our great temples and mosques and other buildings. Now, we live in a different age. We do not spend much time and energy so much on mosques, cathedrals and temples, but in other types of public works. But those public works should also be fine and beautiful, because there is that faith. So I would like you to work in that faith and you will find that if you work with that faith and that spirit, that will itself be a joy to you.

Independence and After, p. 391: from speech at Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation, New Delhi, December 5, 1948.

THE CONCEPTION OF THE BUDDHA

The conception of the Buddha, to which innumerable loving hands have given shape in carven stone and marble and bronze, seems to symbolize the whole spirit of Indian thought, or at least one vital aspect of it. Seated on the lotus flower, calm and impassive, above passion and desire, beyond the storm and strife of this world, so far away he seems, out of reach unattainable. Yet again we look and behind those still, unmoving features there is a passion and an emotion, strange and more powerful than the passions and emotions we have known. His eyes are closed, but some power of the spirit looks out of them and a vital energy fills the frame. The ages roll by and Buddha seems not so far away after all; his voice whispers in our ears and tells us not to run away from the struggle but, calm-eyed, to face it, and to see in life ever greater opportunities for growth and advancement.

Personality counts today as ever, and a person who has impressed himself on the thought of mankind as Buddha has, so that even today there is something living and vibrant about the thought of him, must have been a wonderful man—a man who was, as Barth says, the ‘finished model of calm and sweet majesty, of infinite tenderness for all that breathes and compassion for all that suffers, of perfect moral freedom and exemption from every prejudice’. And the nation and the race which can produce such a magnificent type must have deep reserves of wisdom and inner strength.

The Discovery of India, pp. 142-3.

Education

PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Education is meant to free the spirit of man and not to imprison it in set frames.

Independence and After, p. 123: from Convocation Address at the Muslim University, Aligarh, January 24, 1948.

BRAINS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN BRICKS

I am quite sure that education will advance rapidly if we simplify our ideas about buildings and spend more on education and less on bricks. I am all for dignified buildings for educational institutions. I believe that good buildings do produce a strong impression on the person concerned. I do not want shabby, shoddy structures; we should put up dignified, solid buildings, but meanwhile, if we are to make progress, let us spend what we have on education and its content, rather than on brick and mortar.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 401: from speech at laying foundation of a women's college, Madras, January 22, 1955.

A COUNTRY IS JUDGED BY ITS TOP-RANKING CITIZENS

Ultimately, a country's standing in the world is obviously judged not by the number of people it has, crores and crores, but by the number of top-ranking men and women it has, who show results, who can give a proper lead, and also by the number of other eminent men it has to carry on the work of a large country. It is a certain quality that counts in the end, not quantity, although quantity also is necessary in a

certain measure.

Independence and After, p. 141: from address at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

BASIC EDUCATION COMBINES THOUGHT WITH ACTION

Our ideas of education which are very slowly being given effect to—I wish the pace was faster—revolve round this so-called basic education. There are many virtues in basic education; but the main thing is that you really get down to something and not just repeat things from a book. You get even the smallest child to do something. Of course, there is nothing specially Indian about it. Modern education is like that everywhere. In India, a certain trend has been given to it, notably by Mahatmaji. The idea is to get down to the job with your hands and feet and not talk about it. I am tired of people who merely talk about things. However wise you may be, you can never enter into the spirit of a thing if you only talk about it and do nothing. Even scientists have a tendency to let a wonderful experiment remain an experiment once it has been performed. The next stage somehow does not come. They may well say that the next stage is somebody else's job but I think, if the scientist had a sense of practical application, he would either try to do it himself or get somebody else to do it. This association of thought with action is, I think, of utmost importance. Thought without action is an abortion; action without thought is folly. They must always be allied, whatever we may do. As I said before, they are normally allied in an engineer and, therefore, he perhaps keeps fresher than others do. Also the engineer is actually building; he is not planning for others to build. There is some value in making plans, of course; it has to be done but the man who does the job in the field is actually creating something and there is nothing like creative activity for the growth of the individual and the community.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 68-9: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 17, 1952.

PRESENT DAY IDEA OF A CHILD'S EDUCATION COMBINES KNOWLEDGE WITH CRAFTS

It is well recognized that a child's education should be intimately associated with some craft or manual activity. The mind is stimulated thereby and there is a co-ordination between the activities of the mind and the hands. So also the mind of a growing boy or girl is stimulated by the machine. It grows under the machine's impact (under proper conditions, of course, and not as an exploited and unhappy worker in a factory) and opens out new horizons. Simple scientific experiments, peeps into the microscope, and an explanation of the ordinary phenomena of nature, bring excitement in their train, an understanding of some of life's processes and a desire to experiment and find out instead of relying on set phrases and old formulae. Self-confidence and the co-operative spirit grow, and frustration, arising out of the miasma of the past, lessens. A civilization based on everchanging and advancing mechanical techniques leads to this. Such a civilization is a marked change, a jump almost, from the older type, and is intimately connected with modern industrialization. Inevitably it gives rise to new problems and difficulties, but it also shows the way to overcome them.

The Discovery of India, p. 492.

DANGERS OF SPECIALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE

If I may say so with all humility, the greatest danger in the world is that people, in their zeal to specialize, lose all perspective. They become specialists at a particular job and very fine specialists at that but they lose the larger view of things and, therefore, perhaps they may be said to be only specialists and nothing more. Some of you may know these lines from Wordsworth:

A primrose by a river's brim,
A yellow primrose was to him
And it was nothing more.

They bring to mind the botanist who studies the latin names of flowers but loses all sense of the beauty of flowers. In other words, we become experts in something but lack

wisdom in everything else. In our world, which is so learned in so many subjects, there is very little wisdom. Perhaps, that is because we all know something about a very little part of life and very little about the larger scheme of things.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 379: from speech at Centenary Celebrations of Government Museum, Madras, November 27, 1951.

STUDENT WORLD OF INDIA

The student world of India should be the nursery of new ideas and clear thinking and disciplined action. And yet unfortunately it often shows a lack of all the virtues that it should possess.

The Unity of India, p. 112.

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES

A University stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for progress, for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the Universities discharge their duty adequately, then it is well with the nation and the people. But if the temple of learning itself becomes a home of narrow bigotry and petty objectives, how then will the nation prosper or a people grow in stature?

Independence and After, p. 118: from speech at the Special Convocation of the Allahabad University, December 13, 1947.

How are you, young men and women of this University, going to conduct yourselves? I do not know what you have in your minds or what desires and urges influence you. I try to study the millions of faces wherever I go and I have seen a good proportion of India's vast population. Although I see them in crowds and in groups, I look into their eyes and try to read what lies behind those eyes. I do this, especially when I meet young men and women, because I am deeply concerned with the future of India which they represent to me. The future of this country ultimately depends on her young men and women, most of whom are in colleges

and in universities today. I am anxious to find out what stuff they are made of. They are large in number; but what really counts, if our country is to progress, is the quality of our human material. . . . I have no doubt that you try to play a good game when you go in for sports. You perhaps run a hundred yards in ten seconds; but if you want to be an athlete of real quality you have to surpass and out-distance others. It makes a lot of difference whether you do a hundred yards in ten seconds or in eleven seconds. The difference is only one second but it is very important. That applies to everything. Is the University of Saugor going to produce men and women of real quality?

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 432-3; from Address at the University of Saugor, October 30, 1952.

If the Universities do not teach some kind of basic wisdom, if they think in terms of producing people with degrees who want certain jobs, then the universities may have, perhaps, solved to a very minor extent the problem of unemployment or provided some technical help or other; but they will not have produced men who can understand or solve the problems of today.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 427: from Address at the University of Ceylon, Colombo, January 12, 1950.

AN INTEGRATED LIFE IS ABSENT TODAY

In the ancient civilizations of India and Greece that one reads about, one has, or at any rate, I have the sensation that people, though much more limited in the knowledge at their disposal, certainly had an integrated view of life. They were not so distracted; they could see life as a whole in spite of the fact that they did not know as much or nearly as much as the average undergraduate knows today. Because of this integrated view of life, they had a certain wisdom in their approach to life's problems.

Whether this is true or not I do not know, because one is apt to endow the past with a certain glamour. It may be that I am wrong but in any event one thing seems to me to be certain, namely, that we of today have no integrated

view of life; that we, however clever we may be and however much of facts and knowledge we may have accumulated, are not very wise. We are narrower than the people of old, although every fact has gone to bring us together in this world. We travel swiftly, we have communications, we know more about one another and we have the radio and all kinds of things. In spite of all these widening influences, we are narrower in our minds. That is the extraordinary thing which I cannot understand.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 426: from Convocation Address at the University of Ceylon, Colombo, January 12, 1950.

Culture

CULTURE

I take it that a University is essentially a place of culture, whatever 'culture' might mean. But that takes me back to where I began. There is a great deal of culture all over the place and I, normally, find that those people who talk most loudly of culture, according to my judgment, possess no culture at all. Culture, first of all, is not loud; it is quiet, it is restrained, it is tolerant. You may judge the culture of a person by his silence, by a gesture, by a phrase or, more especially, by his life generally. The peculiar narrow idea of culture that is spreading is that culture depends on the kind of headgear you wear or the kind of food you eat or on similar superficial things which, I do not deny, have a certain importance but which are very secondary in the larger context of life.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 428-9: from Convocation Address at the University of Ceylon, Colombo, January 12, 1950.

I am astonished at the way the word 'culture' is bandied about in India. To me this only means that there is no culture where this is done. Culture is not something that can be bandied about. It does not talk too much and does not shout too much. . . . I am amazed that people should function in such a narrow way, that they should shut their minds and demand that others should shut their minds, too, against anything new and talk only of Indian culture. I know something about culture. Those who preach that doors should be shut do not know anything of culture. Every process of exclusion means lack of culture; every process of inclusion indicates growth. Those elements that believe in pushing things away narrow the mind and the nation falls back to a period of static culture. . . . To be dynamic and creative

is the practical policy or the higher view of culture.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 434: from Address at the University of Saugor, October 30, 1952.

A NATION'S CULTURE DEPENDS ON VARIOUS FACTORS

Culture, if it has any value, must have a certain depth. It must also have a certain dynamic character. After all, culture depends on a vast number of factors. If we leave out what might be called the basic mould that was given to it in the early stages of a nation's or a people's growth, it is affected by geography, by climate and by all kinds of other factors. The culture of Arabia is intimately governed by the geography and the deserts of Arabia because it grew up there. Obviously, the culture of India in the old days was affected greatly, as we see in our own literature, by the Himalayas, the forests and the great rivers of India among other things. It was a natural growth from the soil. Of the various domains of culture, like architecture, music and literature, any two may mix together, as they often did and produce a happy combination. But where there is an attempt to improve something or the other which does not naturally grow and mould itself without uprooting itself, conflict inevitably arises. Then also comes something which to my mind is basically opposed to all ideas of culture. And that is the isolation of the mind and the deliberate shutting up of the mind to other influences. My own view of India's history is that we can almost measure the growth and the advance of India and the decline of India by relating them to periods when India had her mind open to the outside world and when she wanted to close it up. The more she closed it up, the more static she became. Life, whether of the individual, group, nation or society, is essentially a dynamic, changing, growing thing. Whatever stops that dynamic growth also injures it and undermines it.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 358-9: from speech at the inauguration of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, April 9, 1950.

CULTURE DOES NOT DEPEND ON NUMBERS

Culture and individuality in a people do not depend entirely on numbers, but on something more vital. Even small minorities, enveloped by hostile and alien peoples, have retained their culture, language and individuality, and even intensified them.

The Unity of India, p. 116.

CULTURE INCLUDES SELF RESTRAINT

Culture and civilization are difficult to define and I shall not try to define them. But among the many things that culture includes are certainly restraint over oneself and consideration for others. If a person has not got this restraint over himself and has no consideration for others, one can certainly say that he is uncultured.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 52.

CULTURE WIDENS THE MIND AND THE SPIRIT

Culture is the widening of the mind and of the spirit. It is never a narrowing of the mind or a restriction of the human spirit or of the country's spirit.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 366: from speech at Digwadih, April 22, 1950.

A CULTURED MAN IS BROADMINDED AND TOLERANT

Does culture mean some inner growth in the man? Of course, it must. Does it mean the way he behaves to others? Certainly it must. Does it mean the capacity to understand the other person? I suppose so. Does it mean the capacity to make yourself understood by the other person? I suppose so. It means all that. A person who cannot understand another's view point is to that extent limited in mind and culture, because nobody, perhaps, barring some very extraordinary human beings, can presume to have the fullest knowledge and wisdom. The other party or the other group may also have some inkling of knowledge or wisdom or truth

and if we shut our minds to that then we not only deprive ourselves of it but we cultivate an attitude which, I would say, is opposed to that of a cultured man. The cultured mind, rooted in itself, should have its doors and windows open. It should have the capacity to understand the other's view-point fully even though it cannot always agree with it. The question of agreement or disagreement only arises when you understand a thing. Otherwise, it is blind negation which is not a cultured approach to any question.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 359-60: from speech at the inauguration of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, April 9, 1950.

CULTURE AND GOD HAVE NO PLACE BEFORE HUNGER

It is really folly to talk of culture or even of God when human beings starve and die. Before one can talk about anything else one must provide the normal essentials of life to human beings. That is where economics comes in. Human beings today are not in the mood to tolerate this suffering and starvation and inequality when they see that the burden is not equally shared.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 361-2: from speech at Inauguration of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi, April 9, 1950.

CULTURE AND WISDOM

I shall leave you to determine what culture and wisdom really are. We grow in learning, in knowledge, and in experience, till we have such an enormous accumulation of them that it becomes impossible to know exactly where we stand. We are overwhelmed by all this and, at the same time, somehow or other we have a feeling that all these put together do not necessarily represent a growth in the wisdom of the human race. I have a feeling that perhaps some people who did not have all the advantages of modern life and modern science were essentially wiser than most of us are. Whether or not we shall be able in later times to combine all this knowledge, scientific growth and betterment of the human

species with true wisdom, I do not know. I am reminded of the saying of a very wise man who was a famous Greek poet:

What else is Wisdom? What of man's endeavour or
God's high grace, so lovely and so great?
To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait,
To hold a hand uplifted over Hate
And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 362-3: from speech at
the inauguration of the Indian Council for
Cultural Relations, New Delhi, April 9, 1950.

Science and Technology

SCIENCE IS OF THE VERY TEXTURE OF LIFE

Though I have long been a slave driven in the chariot of Indian politics, with little leisure for other thoughts, my mind has often wandered to the days when as a student I haunted the laboratories of that home of science, Cambridge. And though circumstances made me part company with science, my thoughts turned to it with longing. In later years, through devious processes, I arrived again at science, when I realized that science was not only a pleasant diversion and abstraction, but was of the very texture of life, without which our modern world would vanish away. Politics led me to economics, and this led me inevitably to science and the scientific approach to all our problems and to life itself. It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people.

The Unity of India, p. 176.

A NATION'S SURVIVAL DEPENDS ON ITS
SCIENTIFIC ADVANCEMENT

It may well be argued that too much stress on technology and other branches—specialist branches of the physical sciences—has led to a certain lop-sided growth of human beings in industrially and technically advanced countries. It has led to too great a power being placed in the hands of human beings without the corresponding moral capacity to use it rightly. But that is only one aspect of the problem. The other aspect, and an exceedingly important one, is that a country can only survive today if it has enough of scienti-

fic and technical personnel.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 164: from the Presidential Address at the third annual meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, April 6, 1957.

SCIENCE AND LIFE

Science does not tell us much, or for the matter of that anything, about the purpose of life. It is now widening its boundaries and it may invade the so-called invisible world before long and help us to understand this purpose of life in its widest sense, or at least give us some glimpses which illumine the problem of human existence. The old controversy between science and religion takes a new form—the application of the scientific method to emotional and religious experiences.

The Discovery of India, p. 14.

MAN'S EVIL USE OF SCIENCE

One's imagination is fired by the major development in the history of mankind—this conquest of the air. I am not sure myself yet whether in the ultimate analysis it is going to be good for mankind or bad. Just as every great invention can be used for good ends or evil ends, science which is the greatest thing in human history, the development of science which has advanced humanity so tremendously has also been used for evil purposes. But that is not the fault of science. That is the fault of the human being who uses it for evil purposes, and that is another question.

Independence and After, p. 328: from speech at the International Civil Aviation Organization, New Delhi, November 23, 1948.

ACTIVE PRINCIPLE OF SCIENCE

The active principle of science is discovery.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 364: from speech at opening of Fuel Research Institute, Digwadih, April 22, 1950.

THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

We have advanced greatly in science—I am a great believer in science—and the scientific approach has changed the world completely. I think that if the world is to solve its problems, it will inevitably have to be through the means of science and not by discarding science. Nevertheless, I find that the sheer advance of science has often enough made people unscientific. That is an extraordinary thing to say but what I mean is that science has become so vast and all-pervading that scientists are unable to grasp things in their entirety and have become narrower and narrower in each individual subject. They may be very brilliant in some subjects but they seem to have no grip on life as a whole.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 425: from address at the University of Ceylon, Colombo, January 12, 1950.

SCIENCE AND HUMAN THOUGHT

Human thought is ever advancing, ever grappling with and trying to understand the problems of nature and the universe. . . . To me there is a great fascination in this challenge of the human mind, and how it soars up to the uttermost corners of the universe and tries to fathom its mysteries, and dares to grasp and measure what appear to be the infinitely big as well as the infinitely small.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 1363.

THE TRUE SCIENTIST ALWAYS SEEKS TRUTH

The true scientist is the sage unattached to life and the fruits of action, ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him to.

The Unity of India, p. 179.

SCIENCE HAS REVOLUTIONIZED HUMAN LIFE

Yet I am convinced that the methods and approach of science have revolutionized human life more than anything else in the long course of history, and have opened doors and

avenues of further and even more radical change, leading up to the very portals of what has long been considered the unknown. The technical achievements of science are obvious enough, its capacity to transform an economy of scarcity into one of abundance is evident, its invasion of many problems which have so far been the monopoly of philosophy is becoming more pronounced. Space-time and the Quantum Theory utterly changed the picture of the physical world. More recent researches into the nature of matter, the structure of the atom, the transmutation of the elements, and the transformation of electricity and light, either into the other, have carried human knowledge much further. Man no longer sees nature as something apart and distinct from himself. Human destiny appears to become a part of nature's rhythmic energy.

All this upheaval of thought, due to the advance of science, has led scientists into a new region, verging on the metaphysical. They draw different and often contradictory conclusions. Some see in it a new unity, the antithesis of chance. Others, like Bertrand Russell, say: 'Academic philosophers ever since the time of Parmenides have believed the world is unity. The most fundamental of my beliefs is that this is rubbish.' Or again: 'Man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and beliefs are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms.' And yet the latest developments in physics have gone a long way to demonstrate a fundamental unity in nature.

The Discovery of India, pp. 20-1.

MAN'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN SCIENCE

In the last generation or two, there have been certain explorations of the remotest frontiers of human knowledge which are leading us to many strange discoveries and strange consequences. Max Planck's Quantum Theory and later on, Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity changed the whole conception of the universe. Soon came the Atom bomb with its power to kill. The human mind and human efforts are unleashing tremendous powers without quite knowing how to control them. They cannot be controlled by a mere desire

or demand for banning them. Nobody can really control the human mind from going on unleashing new forces.

Speeches (1953-7), p. 254: from speech in the House of the People (Lok Sabha), New Delhi, May 10, 1954.

SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE SHOULD NOT LEAD TO
MORAL DEGENERATION OF MAN

I am, if I may say so, a great admirer of the achievements of modern civilization, of the growth and applications of science and of technological growth. Humanity has every reason to be proud of them and yet if these achievements lessen the capacity for future growth—and that will happen if the mind deteriorates—then surely there is something wrong about this process. It is obvious that ultimately the mind should dominate. I am not mentioning the spirit again but that comes into the picture, too. If the world suffers from mental deterioration or from moral degradation, then something goes wrong at the very root of civilization or culture. Even though that civilization may drag out for a considerable period, it grows less and less vital and ultimately tumbles down. When I look back upon the periods of past history I find certain periods very outstanding. They show great achievements of the human mind, while some others do not. One finds races achieving a high level and then apparently fading away—at least fading away from the point of view of their achievements. And so I wonder whether something that led to the fading away of relatively high cultures is not happening today and producing an inner weakness in the structure of our modern civilization . . .

I suppose the vitality of a group, an individual or a society is measured by the extent to which it possesses courage and, above all, creative imagination. If that creative imagination is lacking, our growth becomes more and more stunted, which is a sign of decay. What then is happening today? Are we trying to improve in this respect or are we merely functioning somewhere on the surface without touching the reality which is afflicting the world and which may result

in political conflict, in economic warfare or in world war.
Speeches (1949-53), pp. 383-4: from address at
the UNESCO Symposium, New Delhi, Dec-
ember 20, 1951.

LIFE MUST BE FACED WITH THE TEMPER
OF SCIENCE

It is therefore with the temper and approach of science, allied to philosophy, and with reverence for all that lies beyond, that we must face life. Thus we may develop an integral vision of life which embraces in its wide scope the past and the present, with all their heights and depths and look with serenity towards the future. The depths are there and cannot be ignored, and always by the side of the loveliness that surrounds us is the misery of the world. Man's journey through life is an odd mixture of joy and sorrow; thus only can he learn and advance. The travail of the soul is a tragic and lonely business. External events and their consequences affect us powerfully, and yet the greatest shocks come to our minds through inner fears and conflicts. While we advance on the external plane, as we must if we are to survive, we also have to win peace with ourselves and between ourselves and our environment, a peace which brings satisfaction not only to our physical and material needs but also to those inner imaginative urges and adventurous spirit that have distinguished man ever since he started on his troubled journey in the realms of thought and action. Whether that journey has any ultimate purpose or not we do not know, but it has its compensations, and it points to many a nearer objective which appears attainable and which may again become the starting point for a fresh advance.

The Discovery of India, p. 626.

The Industrial Age

THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

The industrial age has brought many evils that loom large before us; but we are apt to forget that, taking the world as a whole, and especially the parts that are most industrialized, it has laid down a basis of material well-being which makes cultural and spiritual progress far easier for large numbers. This is not all evident in India or other colonial countries as we have not profited by industrialism. We have only been exploited by it and in many respects made worse, even materially, and more so culturally and spiritually. The fault is not of industrialism but of foreign domination. The so-called Westernization in India has actually, for the time being, strengthened feudalism, and instead of solving any of our problems has simply intensified them.

Autobiography, p. 520.

INDUSTRIALIZATION ESSENTIAL FOR INDEPENDENCE

It can hardly be challenged that, in the context of the modern world, no country can be politically and economically independent, even within the framework of international interdependence, unless it is highly industrialized and developed its power resources to the utmost. Nor can it achieve or maintain high standards of living and liquidate poverty without the aid of modern technology in almost every sphere of life. An industrially backward country will continually upset the world equilibrium and encourage the aggressive tendencies of more developed countries. Even if it retains its political independence, this will be nominal only, and economic control will tend to pass to others.

The Discovery of India, p. 490.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE MACHINE

The triumph of the machine and of industrialism meant the triumph of the classes that controlled the machine.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 542.

DANGERS OF BIG INDUSTRY

It is true, I think, that there are certain inherent dangers in big industry and the big machine. There is a tendency to concentrate power and I am not quite sure that this can be wholly eliminated. But I cannot conceive of the world or of any progressive country doing away with the big machine. Even if this was possible, this would result in lowering production tremendously and in thus reducing standards of life greatly.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 382: from letter to Krisna Kripalani, dated September 29, 1939.

MAN-POWER AND MACHINE-POWER

Foolish comparisons are made between man-power and machine-power; of course, a big machine can do the work of a thousand or ten thousand persons. But if those ten thousand persons sit idly by or starve, the introduction of that machine is not a social gain, except in long perspective which envisages a change in social conditions. It is a nett gain both from the individual and the national point of view to utilize man-power for production. There is no necessary conflict between this and the introduction of machinery on the largest scale, provided that machinery is used primarily for absorbing labour and not for creating fresh unemployment.

The Discovery of India, p. 487.

PRODUCTION

Production means wealth.

Independence and After, p. 159: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, January 18, 1948.

THE STRIKE

The strike is a powerful weapon, the only real weapon of labour. It has to be cherished and preserved and used in an organized and disciplined way with effect when necessity arises. To use it casually and sporadically is to blunt it and thus weaken labour itself.

The Unity of India, p. 74.

LABOUR'S RIGHT TO STRIKE

I am the last man to say that Labour should be denied the right to strike, for the weapon of strike has been a valued weapon by means of which Labour has gradually gained a position of strength and eminence in most countries. Nevertheless, there are times when strikes are dangerous, when strikes not only injure the cause of the nation, but also ultimately the cause of the worker himself.

Independence and After, p. 160: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, January 18, 1948.

TRADE UNIONS

I am all in favour of trade unions. I have been in favour, in theory, of labour's right to strike because I have read the history of the labour movement in England and Europe for the last 150 years. And I think every employer should realize the terrible time labour has had for generations, how they were crushed, how they were sent to Australia for the pettiest offence, as life-time convicts, and, how, slowly, by means of co-operative efforts, the trade unions gradually gained some—I cannot call them privileges—normal human rights. That is why labour prizes the right to strike jealously. That has been its only sanction.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 66: from address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, December 14, 1953.

INDUSTRIAL WARFARE INJURES THE NATION

I think one of the most important things for us to realise today is that industrial warfare injures and weakens the

nation at any time, of course, but more especially today, when we have just launched our ship of state. If the crew of the ship starts non-co-operation, how will the ship start its voyage?

Independence and After, p. 366: from a speech at Vizagapatam, March 14, 1948.

NO GOING BACK TO THE PRIMITIVE WAYS OF LIFE

I do think that life cut off completely from the soil will ultimately wither away. Of course there is seldom such a complete cutting off and the processes of nature take their time. But it is a weakness of modern civilization that it is progressively going further away from the life-giving elements. The competitive and acquisitive characteristics of modern capitalist society, the enthronement of wealth above everything else, and the continuous strain and lack of security for many, add to the ill-health of the mind and produce neurotic states. A saner and more balanced economic structure would lead to an improvement of these conditions. Even so it will be necessary to have greater and more living contacts with the land and nature. This does not mean a return to the land in the old limited sense of the word, or to a going back to primitive ways of life. That remedy might well be worse than the disease. It should be possible to organize modern industry in such a way as to keep men and women, as far as possible, in touch with the land, and to raise the cultural level of rural areas. The village and the city should approach each other in regard to life's amenities, so that in both there should be full opportunities for bodily and mental development and a full all-round life.

The Discovery of India, pp. 678-9.

INDIA SEEKS TO RECONCILE MODERN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION WITH HER OWN ANCIENT IDEALS OF LIFE

In the sub-conscious mind of India, there is questioning, a struggle, a crisis. As of old, India seeks a synthesis of the past and the present, of the old and the new. She sees the

new industrial civilization marching on irresistibly; she distrusts it and dislikes it to some extent, for it is an attack against and an upheaval of so much that is old; yet she has accepted that industrial civilization as an inevitable development. So she seeks to synthesise it with her own fundamental conceptions, to find a harmony between the inner man and his ever-changing outer environment. That harmony is strangely lacking in the whole world today. All of us seek it blindly. Till we find it we shall have to march wearily through the deserts of conflict and hatred and mutual destruction.

The Unity of India, p. 26.

PRICE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

The price paid for rapid industrialization has been terrific in some socialistic countries. I am certain that no country with any kind of parliamentary democracy can possibly pay it. Maybe, where there is a dictatorship with an army behind it, they may be able to do it. But even a dictator cannot go too far without the consent of the people.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 11: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, December 21, 1954.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIANS AND OTHERS

I won't put it that way, that Indians are 'more spiritual'. I would say that a static society talks more about spirituality. Yet, naturally, there are differences between Indians and other peoples. It is not that Indians are better than others. But, for instance, even if wealth is naturally desired by people the wealthy man has never been admired greatly here. Wealth is wanted, but somehow in the whole of our past the man of learning was always much more respected than the wealthy man. It is a national outlook. One of those factors which have influence. But, naturally, the urge for material advance is present.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, pp. 118-19.

A HUMAN ASPECT MUST INSPIRE OUR
ECONOMIC PROGRAMME

Our economic programme must be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice men to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, then the industry must close down. If the workers on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort, and humane hours of labour which do not break his spirit and strength.

India and the World, p. 30.

Planning

PLANNING POSSIBLE ONLY IN A FREE COUNTRY

It was obvious also that any comprehensive planning could only take place under a free national government, strong enough and popular enough to be in a position to introduce fundamental changes in the social and economic structure. Thus the attainment of national freedom and the elimination of foreign control became an essential prerequisite for planning. There were many other obstacles—our social backwardness, customs, traditional outlook, etc.—but they had in any event to be faced. Planning thus was not so much for the present, as for an unascertained future, and there was an air of unreality about it. Yet it had to be based on the present and we hoped that this future was not a distant one. If we could collect the available material, co-ordinate it, and draw up blue-prints, we would prepare the ground for the real effective future planning, meanwhile indicating to Provincial Government and States the lines on which they should proceed and develop their resources. The attempt to plan and see the various national activities—economic, social, cultural—fitting into each other, had also a highly educative value for ourselves and the general public. It made the people come out of their narrow grooves of thought and action, to think of problems in relation to another, and develop to some extent at least a wider co-operative outlook.

The Discovery of India, pp. 474-5.

PLANNING IS SCIENCE IN ACTION

Planning is science in action. Planning has to be flexible; it has to be wide awake and alert. That applies not merely to the industrial process but to the administration as well.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 165: from presidential address at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, April 6, 1957.

PLANNING INCREASES FREEDOM

Planning, though inevitably bringing about a great deal of control and co-ordination and interfering in some measure with individual freedom, would as a matter of fact, in the context of India today, lead to a vast increase of freedom. We have very little freedom to lose. We have only to gain freedom. If we adhered to the democratic State structure and encouraged co-operative enterprises, many of the dangers of regimentation and concentration of power might be avoided.

The Discovery of India, p. 481.

PLANNING WILL GIVE US AN INSIGHT INTO OUR PROBLEMS

This is the first attempt in India to integrate the agricultural, industrial, social, economic and other aspects of the country into a single framework of thinking. It is a very important step. . . . It has made the people think of this country as a whole. I think it is most essential that India, which is united politically and in many other ways, should, to the same extent, be united mentally and emotionally also. We often go off at a tangent on grounds of provincialism, communalism, religion or caste. We have no emotional awareness of the unity of the country. Planning will help us in having an emotional awareness of our problems as a whole it will help us to see the isolated problems in villages or districts or even provinces in their larger context.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 97: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, December 15, 1952.

PLANNING NECESSARY IN COUNTRIES OF ARRESTED GROWTH

I am all for tractors and big machinery and I am convinced that the rapid industrialization of India is essential to relieve the pressure on the land, to combat poverty and to raise standards of living, for defence, and a variety of other purposes. But I am equally convinced that the most careful planning and adjustment are necessary if we are to reap

the full benefit of industrialization and avoid many of its dangers. This planning is necessary today in all countries of arrested growth, like China and India, which have strong traditions of their own.

The Discovery of India, p. 488.

THE ESSENCE OF PLANNING IS BALANCING

Planning consists essentially in balancing: the balancing between industry and agriculture, the balancing between heavy industry and light industry, the balancing between cottage industry and other industry. If one of them goes wrong, then the whole economy is upset. If you concentrate too much on industry, leaving agriculture to look after itself, the country gets into difficulties. In some of the East European countries there have been some inner conflicts and troubles and probably the real basis of these conflicts was economic. The economy of these countries was not a balanced one. Too much stress was laid on a very rapid development of industry, especially heavy industry, with the result that agriculture suffered, and with it the whole economy. A very eminent economist of one of these Eastern countries of Europe delivered a speech about two or three months ago, in which, criticizing their own plan, he recommended to the people in those countries that they should look at India's Second Five-Year Plan, which was a much more balanced effort. And curiously enough, he recommended much greater stress on village industry and handicrafts to these people.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 51: from speech at the All-India Congress Committee, Indore, January 4, 1957.

PLANNING AN ACCEPTED IDEA AT THE PRESENT DAY

The idea of planning and a planned society is accepted now in varying degrees by almost everyone. But planning by itself has little meaning and need not necessarily lead to good results. Everything depends upon the objectives of the plan and on the controlling authority, as well as of course

the government behind it. Does the plan aim definitely at the well-being and advancement of the people as a whole, at the opening out of opportunity for all and the growth of freedom and methods of co-operative organization and action? Increase of production is essential but obviously by itself it does not take us far and may even add to the complexity of our problems. An attempt to preserve old-established and vested interests cuts at the very root of planning. Real planning must recognise that no such special interests can be allowed to come in the way of any scheme designed to further the well-being of the community as a whole. . . . If planning is largely controlled by big industrialists it will be naturally envisaged within the framework of the system they are used to, and will be essentially based on the profit motive of an acquisitive society. However well-intentioned they might be, and some of them are certainly full of good intentions, it is difficult for them to think on new lines. Even when they talk of State control of industry they think of the State more or less as it is today.

The Discovery of India, pp. 609-10.

PLANNING UNDER A DEMOCRATIC SET-UP

It is easy to talk about planning in limited spheres of activity. Naturally, planning for a whole nation involves infinitely greater effort than planning in bits. Planning, in the larger sense, is thus an integrated way of looking at a nation's manifold activities. I do not mean to go in for comparisons but the old Soviet approach to planning was different from ours, both from the point of view of objectives and that of the methods adopted, though the difference between the two countries was greater in the latter case. In view of the fact that we function under a democratic set-up, which we have deliberately adopted and enshrined in our Constitution and in this Parliament, any planning that we do must naturally be within that set-up. The Planning Commission does not have the right to draw up a programme that has no relation to our Constitution or to the set-up under which we work.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 92-3: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, December 15, 1952.

THE PLAN IS THE COUNTRY'S DEFENCE

An Hon. Member, I am told, said here: 'What is the good of your Five-Year Plans? You must concentrate on defence.' That is a grave statement to make. But the Five-Year Plan is the defence plan of the country. What else is it? Because, defence does not consist in people going about marching up and down the road with guns and other weapons. Defence consists today in a country being industrially prepared for producing the goods and the equipment of defence.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 41: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, March 21, 1956.

Socialism

SOCIALISM SOLVES THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism.

India and the World, pp. 82-3.

THE INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM

Inevitably we are led to the only possible solution—the establishment of a socialist order, first within national boundaries, and eventually in the world as a whole, with a controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good. How this is to be brought about is another matter, but it is clear that the good of a nation or of mankind must not be held up because some people who profit by the existing order object to the change. If political or social institutions stand in the way of such a change, they have to be removed. To compromise with them at the cost of that desirable and practical ideal would be a gross betrayal. Such a change may partly be forced or expedited by world conditions, but it can hardly take place without the willing consent or acquiescence of the great majority of the people concerned. They have therefore to be converted and won over to it. Conspiratorial violence of a small group will not help. Naturally efforts must be made to win over even those who profit by the existing system, but it is highly unlikely that any large percentage of them will be converted.

Autobiography, p. 523.

I AM A SOCIALIST

I must frankly confess that I am a Socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings or princes or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognize, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress, to adopt a full socialistic programme. But we must realise that the philosophy of Socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over, and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.

India and the World, pp. 27-8.

SOCIALISM LEADS TO PEACE AND WORLD ORDER

Real world order and peace will only come when socialism is realised on a world scale. It is perfectly true that real socialism involves a profound transformation of the deeper habits of opinion and character and this inevitably takes time.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 139: from letter to Lord Lothian, dated January 17, 1936.

INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY SPELLS DANGER TO SOCIETY

Personally I feel that the institution of private property (except in a very restricted sense) gives dangerous power to individuals over society as a whole and is therefore very harmful to society.

Autobiography, p. 543.

ON PROPERTY

I have no property sense. It seems a burden to me to carry

property; it is a nuisance. In life's journey one should be lightly laden; one cannot be tied down to a patch of land or a building. I cannot appreciate this intense attachment to property. But, while not appreciating it, I realize and recognize its prevalence. At the same time I think the proposition that some honourable members on the opposite side advanced about acquisition or confiscation without compensation seems to be basically wrong. I say so from the point of view of the public good, not because I love property. Except in particular cases, where a person misbehaves and so on, I do not want anything to be acquired except on payment of just compensation.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 130-1: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, April 11, 1955.

TO DEIFY PROPERTY IS MONSTROUS

It is a monstrous thing that property should be made a god, above human beings. To say that whatever a man may do—he may even commit murder—is nothing, but property is a god and must be worshipped, is a view of property which government is not prepared to accept at all.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 127: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, April 11, 1955.

SOCIALISM ENSURES GREATER FREEDOM TO THE INDIVIDUAL

I do not see why under socialism there should not be a great deal of freedom for the individual; indeed, far greater freedom than the present system gives. He can have freedom of conscience and mind, freedom of enterprise, and even the possession of private property on a restricted scale. Above all, he will have the freedom which comes from economic security, which only a small number possess today.

I think India and the world will have to march in this direction of Socialism unless catastrophe brings ruin to the world. That march may vary in different countries and the intermediate steps might not be the same. Nothing is so foolish as to imagine that exactly the same processes take place in different countries with varying backgrounds.

India, even if she accepted this goal, would have to find her own way to it, for we have to avoid unnecessary sacrifice and the way of chaos, which may retard our progress for a generation.

The Unity of India, p. 118.

RAISING THE STANDARD OF THE MASSES OUR MAIN PROBLEM

Our problem today is to raise the standard of the masses, supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life, to help them to progress and advance in life not only in regard to material things but in regard to cultural and spiritual things also. What will happen in the distant future, I do not know, but I should like to set them on the right road and I do not care what 'ism' it is that helps me to set them on that road, provided I do it. And if one thing fails, we will try another. We need not be dogmatic about this or that approach. Anything that comes in the way has simply to be ignored, or will be swept away.

Independence and After, pp. 190-1: from speech at the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, March 4, 1949.

INDIA HAS A CHANCE OF EVOLVING A HIGH STANDARD OF LIFE

I do not mean to say that India is spiritually developed. Other countries, too, may have so developed or may not have. Talking of India's spiritualism merely confuses the issues. But I do think that India, situated as she is, has a chance of evolving on her own lines, a relatively high standard of living without getting into all the difficulties and dangers which this mad race for economic or other power has brought about. I am not anxious that everybody in India should have a motor car or a washing machine or a refrigerator. But I am very anxious that the right trend should be encouraged.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 78: from speech at National Development Council, New Delhi, January 7, 1956.

SOCIALISM RIDS SOCIETY OF ITS ACQUISITIVE TENDENCY

Much can be said about socialism, but I should like to stress one thing. The whole of the capitalistic structure is based on some kind of an acquisitive society. It may be that, to some extent, the tendency to acquisitiveness is inherent in us. A socialistic society must try to get rid of this tendency to acquisitiveness and replace it by co-operation. You cannot bring about this change by a sudden law. There have to be long processes of training the people; without this you cannot wholly succeed. Even from the very limited point of view of changing your economic structure, apart from your minds and hearts, it takes time to build up a socialist society. The countries that have gone fastest have also taken time. I would like you to consider that the Soviet Union, which has gone fast in industrialization, has taken thirty-five years or more over it. Chairman Mao of the People's Republic of China—which is more or less a Communist State—said, about three or four years ago, that it would take China twenty years to achieve some kind of Socialism. Mind you, this in spite of the fact that theirs is an authoritarian State and the people are exceedingly disciplined and industrious. Chairman Mao was speaking as a practical idealist. We must realize that the process of bringing socialism to India, especially in the way we are doing it, will inevitably take time.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 52-3: from speech to All India Congress Committee, Indore, January 4, 1957.

OUR OBJECTIVE IS A SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY

We have said that our objective is a socialistic pattern of society. I do not propose to define precisely what socialism means in this context because we wish to avoid any rigid or doctrinaire thinking. Even in my life I have seen the world change so much that I do not want to confine my mind to any rigid dogma. But broadly speaking, what do we mean when we say 'socialist pattern of society'? We mean a society in which there is equality of opportunity and the possi-

bility for everyone to live a good life. Obviously, this cannot be attained unless we produce the wherewithal to have the standards that a good life implies. We have, therefore, to lay great stress on equality, on the removal of disparities, and it has to be remembered that socialism is not the spreading out of poverty. The essential thing is that there must be wealth and production.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 96: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, May 23, 1956.

A CLASSLESS SOCIETY SHOULD BE OUR AIM

Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organized on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to a cultivation of spiritual values, of co-operation, unselfishness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and love—ultimately a world order. Everything that comes in the way will have to be removed, gently if possibly, forcibly if necessary. And there seems to be little doubt that coercion will often be necessary.

Autobiography, pp. 551-2.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

I believed more and more in Socialism. More and more even in some parts of Communism; not the action but the theory part of it; a Communist society somewhere in the future. But I always conditioned it that the methods should be peaceful, broadly speaking peaceful, and not wrong. Whether the two can be synchronized or not it is difficult to say. But I am deeply convinced that the methods in certain Communist societies, that is too much coercion and suffering, are not the right methods.

Conversations With Mr. Nehru, pp. 31-2.

Freedom

FREEDOM IS OF THE MIND AND HEART

Freedom is not a mere matter of political decision or new constitutions, not even a matter of what is more important, that is, economic policy. It is of the mind and heart and if the mind narrows itself and is befogged and the heart is full of bitterness and hatred, then freedom is absent.

Independence and After, p. 10, from a message from New Delhi on the First Anniversary of Independence, August 15, 1948.

FREEDOM SHOULD BE UNIVERSAL

The freedom that we envisage is not to be confined to this nation or that or to a particular people, but must spread out over the whole human race. That universal freedom cannot also be based on the supremacy of any particular class. It must be the freedom of the common man everywhere and full of opportunities for him to develop.

Independence and After, p. 300: from speech inaugurating the Asian Conference, New Delhi, March 23, 1947.

FREEDOM SHOULD INCLUDE ECONOMIC FREEDOM

We talk of freedom, but today political freedom does not take us far unless there is economic freedom. Indeed, there is no such thing as freedom for a man who is starving or for a country which is poor.

Independence and After, p. 160: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, January 18, 1948.

FREEDOM IS A MEANS TO HUMAN
WELL-BEING

The form of government is after all a means to an end; even freedom itself is a means, the end being human well-being, human growth, the ending of poverty and disease and suffering, and the opportunity for everyone to live the 'good life' physically and mentally.

India and the World, p. 4.

FREEDOM RAISES THE UNDER-DOG

Mahatma Gandhi taught us to view our national struggle always in terms of the under-privileged and those to whom opportunity had been denied. Therefore, there was always an economic facet to our political struggle for freedom. We realized that there was no real freedom for those who suffered continually from want and because there were millions who lacked the barest necessities of existence in India, we thought of freedom in terms of raising and bettering the lot of these people. Having achieved political freedom, it is our passionate desire to serve our people in this way and to remove the many burdens they have carried for generations past. Gandhi said on one occasion that it was his supreme ambition to wipe every tear from every eye. That was an ambition beyond even his power to realize, for many millions of eyes have shed tears in India, in Asia and the rest of the world; and perhaps it may never be possible completely to stop this unending flow of human want and misery and suffering; and what are politics and all our arguments worth if they do not have this aim in view?

Speeches (1949-53), p. 420: from address delivered at the University of California, October 31, 1949.

NO SUCH THING AS ABSTRACT FREEDOM

The more I have thought about it, the more I have become convinced that there is no such thing as abstract freedom. Freedom is always accompanied by responsibility. Freedom always entails an obligation, whether it is a nation's free-

dom or an individual's freedom.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 158: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, March 28, 1957.

FREEDOM APPRECIATES OTHERS' FREEDOM

Freedom demands respect for the freedom of others.

Independence and After, p. 26: from speech on the occasion of the immersion of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, Allahabad, February 12, 1948.

OPPOSITION MUST BE MET OPENLY, NOT BY VIOLENCE

Civil liberty is not merely for us an airy doctrine or a pious wish, but something which we consider essential for the orderly development and progress of a nation. It is the civilized approach to a problem about which people differ, the non-violent way of dealing with it. To crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression, because we dislike it is essentially of the same genus as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him. It does not even possess the virtue of success. The man with the cracked skull might collapse and die, but the suppressed opinion or idea has no such sudden end and it survives and prospers the more it is sought to be crushed with force. History is full of such examples. Long experience has taught us that it is dangerous in the interest of truth to suppress opinions and ideas; it has further taught us that it is foolish to imagine that we can do so. It is far easier to meet an evil in the open and to defeat it in fair combat in people's minds than to drive it underground and have no hold on it or proper approach to it.

The Unity of India, pp. 67-8.

A NATION THIRSTING FOR LIBERTY ACTS PECULIARLY

When the spirit of a nation breaks its bonds, it functions in

peculiar ways.

Independence and After, p. 361: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, January 22, 1947.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The real test of the success of the Russian Revolution does not lie in the theory, or in the courage and enthusiasm of the people, or even in the greatness of Lenin. Nor can the revolution be said to have been a failure because the Bolsheviks ruthlessly exterminated their opponents and countered the white terror with the red. The real test of success can only be the measure of happiness of the masses of the people. It is partly a question of psychology, but partly also of material conditions, and facts and figures. It is not easy to judge the psychology of a people without the most intimate knowledge. It may be that freedom from oppression is preferable even though it results in a diminution of material well-being for a time; and visitors to Russia tell us that in the early years of the revolution when civil war and the blockade had brought the population to the verge of starvation, the new freedom more than compensated for the suffering and lack of food and all comforts.

Soviet Russia, pp. 49-50.

Democracy

DEMOCRACY

Democracy to be successful must have a background of informed public opinion and a sense of responsibility.

Autobiography, p. 145.

DEMOCRACY THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Democracy is the best of all the various methods available to us for the governance of human beings.

The Unity of India, p. 116.

DEMOCRACY INCONSISTENT WITH MATERIAL INEQUALITY

No democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 399: from address at the Columbia University, New York, October 17, 1949.

DEMOCRACY DEMANDS SELF-DISCIPLINE

You may define democracy in a hundred ways but surely one of its definitions is self-discipline of the community.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 472: from speech at the All India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, September 17, 1952.

MAJORITY NOT ALWAYS RIGHT

We talk a great deal about democracy but in its present shape and form it is a relatively new concept. The old type

of democracy was a limited one in many ways. Now we have adult suffrage and the biggest electorate in the world. With all my admiration and love for democracy, I am not prepared to accept the statement that the largest number of people are always right.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 252: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 18, 1953.

DEMOCRACY DEMANDS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Democracy does not simply mean shouting loudly and persistently, though that might occasionally have some value. Freedom and democracy require responsibility and certain standards of behaviour and self-discipline.

The Unity of India, p. 112.

WHY INDIA HAS CHOSEN DEMOCRACY

We have definitely accepted the democratic process. Why have we accepted it? Well, for a variety of reasons. Because we think that in the final analysis it promotes the growth of human beings and of society; because, as we have said in our Constitution, we attach great value to individual freedom; because we want the creative and adventurous spirit of man to grow. It is not enough for us merely to produce the material goods of the world. We do want high standards of living, but not at the cost of man's creative spirit, his creative energy, his spirit of adventure; not at the cost of all those fine things of life which have ennobled man throughout the ages. Democracy is not merely a question of elections.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 53: from speech at the All-India Congress Committee at Indore, January 4, 1957.

DEMOCRACY MEANS TOLERANCE OF OUR OPPONENTS

Democracy means tolerance, tolerance not merely of those who agree with us, but of those who do not agree with us.

With the coming of freedom our patterns of behaviour must change so as to fit in with this freedom.

Independence and After, p. 217: from speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1948.

INDIA STANDS FOR DEMOCRACY

We stand in this country for democracy, for an independent, Sovereign India. Now obviously, anything that is opposed to the democratic concept—the real, essentially democratic concept, which includes not only political but economic democracy—we ought to oppose. We will resist the imposition of any other concept here or any other practice.

Independence and After, p. 217: from speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1948.

INDIA OPPOSES TOTALITARIANISM

In the world-wide conflict of ideas and politics, India stands for democracy and against Fascism and the totalitarian state. She stands for peace and co-operation between nations and ultimately the building up of a world order.

The Unity of India, pp. 23-4.

DEMOCRACY GIVES BIRTH TO THE HIGHEST HUMAN VALUES

We have to build India according to democratic methods. We have decided to do so because we feel that democracy offers society something of the highest human values. But war put an end to the very values that democracy cherishes. Democracy, in fact, is a casualty of war in the world today. It does not seem to function properly any more. That has been the tragedy of the last two world wars and something infinitely worse is likely to happen if there is another war.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 252-3: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, February 18, 1953.

METHOD OF DEMOCRACY

The method of democracy is discussion, argument, persuasion and ultimate decision and acceptance of that decision even though it might go against our grain. Otherwise the bigger *lathi* or the bigger bomb prevails and that is not the democratic method. The problem is the same whether atomic bombs are involved or street demonstrations. I do not object to demonstrations, but I object to their violence.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 178: from speech in the Lok Sabha, New Delhi, December 21, 1955.

A VOTE IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR FOOD FOR A HUNGRY MAN

It is obvious that a vote by itself does not mean very much to a person who is down and out and starving. Such a person will be much more interested in food to eat than in a vote.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 138: from speech at Trichur, December 26, 1955.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Parliamentary democracy demands many virtues. It demands, of course, ability. It demands a certain devotion to work. But it demands also a large measure of co-operation, of self-discipline, of restraint. Parliamentary democracy is not something which can be created in a country by some magic wand. . . . Parliamentary democracy naturally involves peaceful methods of action, peaceful acceptance of decisions taken and attempts to change them through peaceful ways again.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 156: from speech in Lok Sabha, New Delhi, March 28, 1957.

A GOVERNMENT CANNOT CONQUER AN INDIVIDUAL

A democratic government in the ultimate analysis functions largely with the goodwill of the people and with their co-

operation. It cannot go very much against them. Even an autocratic government has to have a measure of goodwill. It cannot function without it. In the ultimate analysis, a government functions because of certain sanctions which it has and which are represented by its army or police force. If the government is in line with the thought of a majority of the people, it is a democratic government and only a very small minority of the people will feel its pressure. Now, if an individual refuses to be afraid of these sanctions, what is the government to do about it? It may put him in prison. He is not afraid; he welcomes it. He may be, if you like, shot down. He is not afraid of facing death. Well, then a government has to face a crisis; that is, a government, in spite of its great power, cannot really conquer an individual. It may kill him but it does not overcome him. That is failure on the part of the government. A government, which is essentially based—apart from the other factors which I have mentioned—upon the sanctions it has, comes up against something—the spirit of man which refuses to be afraid of those sanctions.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 405-6: from address at the University of Chicago, October 27, 1949.

DEMOCRACY A GREAT LEVELLER

Democracy is, on the whole, a great leveller.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 481: from an interview to All India Radio on May 6, 1956.

Government and Politics

GOVERNMENT DIVORCED FROM THE PEOPLE

A government divorced from the people cannot get a popular response which is so essential; much less can a foreign government, which is inevitably disliked and distrusted, do so.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 470: from letter to Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of U.S.A., dated April 12, 1942.

PROPHETS AND POLITICIANS

There is always a great difference between a prophet and a politician in their approach to a problem. We had the combination of a prophet and a great statesman; but then we are not prophets nor are we very great in our statesmanship. All we can say is that we should do our utmost to live up as far as we can to that standard, but always judging a problem by the light of our own intelligence, otherwise we will all fail. There is the grave danger, on the one hand, of denying the message of the prophet, and on the other, of blindly following it and missing all its vitality. We have, therefore, to steer a middle course through these. Then a politician or a statesman, or call him what you will, has to deal not only with the truth, but with men's receptivity of that truth, because if there is not sufficient response to it from the politician's or statesman's point of view, that truth is banished into the wilderness till minds are ripe for it. And certainly a statesman cannot act and much less can he act in a democratic age, unless he can make people believe in that truth. So unfortunately, but inevitably, compromises have to take place from time to time. You cannot do without compromises, but a compromise is a bad compromise if it is opportunist in the sense that it is not always aiming at the

truth. It may be a good compromise if it is always looking at that truth and trying to take you there.

Independence and After, pp. 234-5: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Public affairs involve principles and policies. They also involve an understanding of each other and faith in the bonafides of colleagues. If this understanding and faith are lacking, it is very difficult to co-operate with advantage.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 315: from letter to Sarat Chandra Bose dated March 24, 1939.

SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF GOVERNMENT DEPENDS ON PEOPLE'S CO-OPERATION

A government which deals with vital social problems has to function very differently from a government which is essentially a police state. A police state has only to keep the peace, to collect revenue, more or less, and do a few other little jobs. Today, we have to tackle intricate social and economic problems. Those problems cannot be tackled by a *firman* or *ukase* or a decree from the government. There must be right laws. I agree that government activity must be right and ought to be right. But in such economic matters governmental activity goes only thus far. It is the activity of the people, it is the temper of the people, and the co-operation that the people in general give that will solve these problems this way or that. And I tell you that the best of our laws or activities of the government can be, if not nullified, lessened greatly in effect if there is no will to work in the people or to co-operate to that end. And I tell you also that even an enfeebled government, even a bad political government can yield greater results in the country if people co-operate to that end.

Independence and After, p. 316: from speech at Silver Jubilee Convocation of Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

ATTRIBUTES OF STATESMANSHIP

Perspective and vision are essential attributes of statesmanship.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 316: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, August 11, 1951.

THE OLD INDIAN IDEA OF KINGSHIP

I have told you on several occasions what the old Indian idea of kingship was. From the old Aryan days to Ashoka's time, and from the *Arthashastra* to the *Nitisara* of *Sukracharya*, it is repeatedly stated that the King must bow down to public opinion. It is the public that is the ultimate master. This was the Indian theory, although in practice Kings in India, like elsewhere, were autocratic enough. Compare this to the old European view. According to the lawyers of those days the Emperor had absolute authority. His will was law. 'The Emperor is the living law upon earth', they said. Fred-eric Barabarossa himself said, 'It is not for the people to give laws to the prince, but to obey his command'.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 310.

LOVE OF THE PEOPLE A MOST PRECIOUS THING

You may have many gifts and presents but there is nothing more precious than the love and the affection of the people.

Independence and After, p. 369: from speech at a banquet to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on their departure from India, New Delhi, June 20, 1948.

URGES OF THE COMMON PEOPLE SHOULD BE HEEDED

No government can afford to ignore the urges of the common people. After all, democracy has its basis on those very urges and if any government flouts them, it is pushed aside and other governments take it over.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 20: from address at the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association, New Delhi, December 26, 1950.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution is after all some kind of legal body given to the ways of governments and the life of a people. A Constitution, if it is out of touch with the people's life, aims and aspirations, becomes rather empty; if it falls behind those aims, it drags the people down. It should be something ahead to keep people's eyes and minds up to a certain high mark. . . . We should not, as some other great countries have, make a Constitution so rigid that it cannot be easily adapted to changing conditions. Today, especially, when the world is in turmoil and we are passing through a very swift period of transition, what we do today may not be wholly applicable tomorrow. Therefore, while we make a Constitution which is sound and as basic as we can make it, it should also be flexible and for a period we should be in a position to change it with relative facility.

Independence and After, p. 375: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, November 8, 1948.

INDIA SHOULD NOT IMITATE OTHER PATTERNS

I shall have little respect for India if it followed blindly the American pattern or the Russian pattern or the Chinese or the British. Then it would not be India but a pale imitation of somebody else. That does not mean that I do not respect the American, British or other patterns. What I say is that we shall have to function according to our thinking. What is the good of an individual who does not have an integrated personality, who merely copies something or somebody else—much more so a nation which just copies?

Speeches (1953-57), p. 276: from statement at a Press Conference, New Delhi, November 13, 1954.

CONSTITUTIONS ARE MADE FOR HUMAN BEINGS

Many of our politicians, learned in the law, think and talk

of constitutions and the like, forgetting the human beings for whom constitutions and laws are made.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 568.

SERVICE OF THE COMMON MAN IS THE PARAMOUNT DUTY AT PRESENT

Equally important is the service of the common man in India who has suffered so much in the past. His claims must be paramount and everything that comes in the way of his betterment must have second place. Not merely from moral and humanitarian grounds but also from the point of view of political commonsense, has it become essential to raise the standard of the common man and to give him full opportunity of progress. A social structure which denies him this opportunity stands self-condemned and must be changed.

Independence and After, p. 31: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, February 14, 1948.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS TO RULE MEN IS OBSOLETE

It is a scandalous thing for any man to say, however highly placed he may be, that he is here by special divine dispensation to rule over human beings today. That is a thing which is an intolerable presumption on any man's part. We have heard a lot about this Divine Right of Kings: we have read a lot about it in past histories and we thought that we had heard the last of it and that it had been put an end to and buried deep down in the earth long ages ago.

Independence and After, p. 356: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, January 22, 1947.

THE RULE OF LAW

The rule of law cannot go off at a tangent from life's problems and be an answer to problems which existed yesterday and are not so important today. Law by its very nature tended to be static but should not be so as nothing can be static in a changing world. While the basic principles might

INDIA A FRIEND TO ALL NATIONS

We are not hostile to any country and we do not want to meddle in other people's affairs. Every nation should be free to choose the path it considers best. We do not wish to interfere with the freedom of other nations and we expect them to feel the same about our freedom. That is why we have decided not to join any of the power blocs in the world. We will remain aloof and try to be friendly to all. We intend to progress according to our own ideas. We have decided to follow this policy, not only because it is essentially sound from our country's point of view but also because it seems to be the only way to serve the cause of world peace. Another world war will spell ruin and we shall not escape the general disaster. We are determined to make every possible effort in the cause of peace. That explains our present foreign policy.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 8: from speech at the Red Fort, Delhi, August 15, 1949.

INDIA TAKES AN INDIVIDUAL STAND

India is too big a country herself to be bound down to any country, however big it may be. India is going to be and is bound to be a country that counts in world affairs, not I hope in the military sense, but in many other senses which are more important and effective in the end. Any attempt on our part, that is the Government of the day here, to go too far in one direction would create difficulties in our own country. It would be resented and we would produce conflicts in our own country which would not be helpful to us or to any other country. While remaining quite apart from power blocs, we are in a far better position to cast our weight at the right moment in favour of peace, and meanwhile our relations can become as close as possible in the economic or other domain with such countries with whom we can easily develop them. So it is not a question of our remaining isolated or cut off from the rest of the world. We do not wish to be isolated. We wish to have the closest contacts, because we do from the beginning firmly believe in the world coming closer together and ultimately realizing the ideal of what is now being called One World. But India, we are convinced,

can help in that process far more by taking an individual stand and acting according to her own wishes whenever any crisis arises than by merging herself with others and getting tied up in hard and fast rules.

Independence and After, p. 257: from speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

INDIA FOLLOWS A POSITIVE AND VITAL POLICY

I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations and told that because we have refrained from doing so we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understood, because in times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as irrational, short-sighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly. But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and a vital policy that flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop but is also of paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by surrendering to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice but also not by talking and preparing for war! Aggression has to be met, for it endangers peace. At the same time, the lesson of the last two wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that, in spite of that lesson, we go the same way. The very process of marshalling the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it has sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said, there is nothing really to fear except fear itself.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 398: from address at the Columbia University, New York, October 17, 1949.

INTERFERENCE NOT IN CONSONANCE WITH INDIA'S DIGNITY

I have come more and more to the conclusion that the less we interfere in international conflicts the better, unless, of course, our own interest is involved, for the simple reason that it is not in consonance with our dignity just to interfere without producing any effect. We should be either strong enough to produce some effect or we should not interfere at all. I am not anxious to put my finger in every international pie.

Independence and After, p. 215: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1948.

THE COLD WAR

The greatest danger which the world is facing is the cold war. The cold war creates a bigger mental barrier than brick walls or iron curtains do. It creates barriers of the mind which prevent the understanding of the other person's position, which divide the world into devils and angels. We can take it that all of us have something angelic in us, something divine in us, but also that we have a good deal of the Satan in us. Whether we are a country or an individual, we should try out the good in ourselves and take the good from others and thereby suppress the evil aspects.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 45: from speech in Lok Sabha, November 20, 1956.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ENSURES FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS

The problems we have to face in world affairs at the present moment bear a great deal of relation to the conflicts that are going on. We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one of keeping aloof from the big blocks of nations—rival blocks—and being friendly to all countries and not becoming entangled in any alliances, military or other, that might drag us into any possible conflict. Some people have criticized and suggested to us that that is not a good enough

policy; and that we are losing what we might get by a closer association or alliance. Others, on the other hand, have criticized us by saying that while we say one thing, we act secretly or otherwise in another way. It is a little difficult, of course, to give an answer to an imputation of motives, but as a matter of fact we have very strictly followed the policy of not getting entangled in any kind of commitment, certainly not military commitment, with any other power or group of powers, and we propose to adhere to that policy, because we are quite convinced that that is the only possible policy for us at present and in the future. That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationships with other countries.

Independence and After, p. 239: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

INDIA CAN BE OF MORE SERVICE BY AVOIDING POWER BLOCS

May I say that I do not for an instant claim any superior vantage point for India to advise or criticize the rest of the world? I think we are merely trying not to get excited about these problems and anyhow there is no reason why we should not try. It follows, therefore, that we should not align ourselves with what are called power blocs. We can be of far more service without doing so and I think there is just a possibility—and I shall not put it higher than that—that at a moment of crisis, our peaceful and friendly efforts might make a difference and avert that crisis. If so, it is well worth trying.

Independence and After, pp. 256-7: from speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

ISOLATION OF INDIA FROM WORLD AFFAIRS

It would be unrealistic to believe that India could remain aloof from world affairs. India cannot be isolated because in the world today no country, big or small, can be itself

apart.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 116: from address in the House of Representatives and the Senate, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1949.

I do not wish my country merely to copy another, because in whatever direction we may grow we must grow out of the roots from which our nation draws sustenance and follow the genius of our people. Nevertheless I feel that we can learn a great deal from the United States of America as well as from other countries of the West and we should take every opportunity of doing so. If India is to grow and prosper she cannot do so by sticking only to her roots and isolating herself from the rest of the world. Therefore, we must strike a balance between the two extremes and then only can we make good.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 146: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, March 17, 1950.

India is a country with a tremendous vitality which it has shown through its history. It has often enough imposed its own cultural pattern on other countries, not by force of arms, but by the strength of her vitality, culture and civilization. There is no reason why we should give up our way of doing things, our way of considering things, simply because of some particular ideology which emanates from Europe. I have no doubt at all that we have to learn a great deal from Europe and America and I think that we should keep our eyes and our ears completely open. We should be flexible in mind and we should be receptive, but I also have no doubt at all that we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, we must not allow any wind from anywhere to sweep us off our feet.

Independence and After, p. 241: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

BARBARISM HAS TO BE RESISTED IN A
CIVILIZED WAY

I spoke this morning about the hydrogen bomb and I said

that it was something that could destroy mankind. It amazes me that some people should talk lightly of it. I have felt for some time that, however disastrous the hydrogen bomb may be, it is, nevertheless, preferable to the kind of thing we have seen and heard of in recent months. Let the world be utterly destroyed but let us not continue to live as brutes and beasts, ever sinking to lower levels. That is a challenge to this generation, a challenge to this House and to this Government. Are you going to fight the spread of beastliness and the barbarism that is overcoming us? You cannot fight evil with evil; you cannot fight barbarism with barbarism. You have to take up a civilized position and resist brutishness with all your might. Of course, we feel strongly about the people of East Bengal but we must realize our responsibility to them and in helping them try to find ways and means which are civilized and which adhere to the ideals we have held.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 285: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, March 17, 1950.

INDIA IS OLD IN WISDOM AND YOUNG AT H E A R T

India may be new to world politics and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of action that was peaceful; yet it was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict. How far can that principle be applied to wider spheres of action? I do not know, for circumstances differ and the means to prevent evil have to be shaped and set to the nature of the evil. Yet I have no doubt that the basic approach which lay behind that technique of action was the right approach in human affairs and the only approach that ultimately solves a problem satisfactorily. We have to achieve freedom and to

defend it. We have to meet aggression and to resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose. But even preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 124-5: from address at the East and West Association, etc., New York, October 19, 1949.

NON-ALIGNMENT IS INDIA'S POLICY

The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of non-alignment in any military pact or like pact or alliance. Non-alignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic approach to such problems as confront us. We believe that each country has the right not only to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius. We believe therefore in non-aggression and non-interference by one country in the affairs of another and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful co-existence. We think that by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other contacts between nations, each will learn from the other and trust will prevail. We, therefore, endeavour to maintain friendly relations with all countries even though we may disagree with them in their policies or structure of government. We think that by this approach we can serve not only our country but also the larger cause of peace and good fellowship in the world.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 49: from Television and Radio Address, Washington, U.S.A., December 18, 1956.

WAR EMANATES FROM MEN'S MINDS

In the ultimate analysis the roots of war are in the minds of people. How can there be war if it is not in the hearts

and minds of people? A very great Indian had said 2,500 years ago that there should be only such wars in which everyone is the victor and there is none vanquished. He meant that everyone should be a victor and everyone should benefit. This cannot take place by a war of arms.

The Hindu, February 13, 1960: from speech at a Civic Reception to Mr. Krushchev, New Delhi.

The Renaissance of Asia

THE RENAISSANCE OF ASIA

A change of supreme importance has now come over the world scene and this is the renaissance of Asia. Perhaps, when the history of our times comes to be written, the re-entry of this old continent of Asia—which has seen so many ups and downs—into world politics will be the most outstanding fact of this and the next generation. All the world is concerned with this but more particularly the United States, because of her geographical and pivotal position, apart from the great power that she wields in world affairs today.

The world is full of unsolved problems today; perhaps, all of them can be considered as parts of one single problem. This problem cannot be solved unless the full implication of the renaissance of Asia is kept in mind, for Asia will inevitably play an ever growing part in world affairs. Asia, arrested in her growth, faces this world problem in two of its major aspects—political and economic. The political problem, that is, the achievement of political freedom, has a certain priority because without it no effective progress is possible. But owing to the delay in the achievement of political freedom, the economic problem has become equally important and urgent. National freedom is thus the first essential in Asia and, although most of the countries of Asia have achieved this, some still remain under colonial domination. These relics of foreign rule will have to go, giving place to national freedom, thus satisfying nationalism, which is the predominant urge of Asian peoples. The economic betterment of the vast masses of Asia is equally essential, both from their point of view and from the point of view of world peace and stability. This will involve a progressive industrialization of these countries and in this the United States can play a vital role.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 419: from address at the University of California, October 31, 1949.

ASIAN COUNTRIES KEEN ON MUTUAL CO-OPERATION

So you see something working in the mind of Asia, not only in India but all over Asia. You find something germinating and whenever you give it a chance to come out, it comes out. We are convinced that there is a keen desire on the part of Asian countries to work together, to confer together and generally to look to each other. Possibly, this may be due to a certain resentment against the behaviour of Europe in the past. Undoubtedly, it was partly also a feeling that the Asian countries might still be exploited or dominated by Europe or the countries elsewhere. But it was also, I think, largely due to a certain flow-back in memory of our ancient contacts, for our literature is full of them.

Independence and After, p. 250: from speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

ASIA NOT BETTER THAN EUROPE MORALLY OR ETHICALLY

I do not mean to say that we in Asia are in any way superior, ethically or morally, to the people of Europe. In some ways I imagine we are worse. There is, however, a legacy of conflict in Europe. In Asia, at the present moment at least, there is no such legacy. The countries of Asia may have their quarrels with their neighbours here and there, but there is no basic legacy of conflict such as the countries of Europe possess. That is a very great advantage for Asia and it would be folly in the extreme for the countries of Asia, for India to be dragged in the wake of the conflicts in Europe. We might note that the world progressively tends to become one—one in peace and it is likely to be one, in a sense of war. No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is a major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflict and being entangled in it.

Independence and After, p. 232: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

ASIA A POWERFUL INFLUENCE FOR WORLD PEACE

In this crisis in world history Asia will necessarily play a vital role. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others; they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs. Europe and America have contributed very largely to human progress and for that we must yield them praise and honour, and learn from them the many lessons they have to teach. But the West has also driven us into wars and conflicts without number and even now, the day after a terrible war, there is talk of further wars in the atomic age that is upon us. In this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace. Indeed, there can be no peace unless Asia plays her part. There is today conflict in many countries, and all of us in Asia are full of our own troubles. Nevertheless, the whole spirit and outlook of Asia are peaceful, and the emergence of Asia in world affairs will be a powerful influence for world peace.

Independence and After, pp. 298-9: from speech inaugurating the Asian Conference at New Delhi, March 23, 1947.

ASIA-EUROPE RELATIONS A MAJOR QUESTION

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of hers, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history, and because of so many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that; India becomes a kind of meeting ground for various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and the West.

Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India inevitably comes into the picture. If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of regional organiz-

ations in Asia, you have to keep in touch with other regions. And whatever region you may have in mind, the importance of India cannot be ignored.

In the past, especially by virtue of her economic and political domination, the West ignored Asia, or at any rate did not give her the weight that was due to her. Asia was really given a back seat and one unfortunate result of it was that even the statesmen did not recognize the changes that were taking place. There is, I believe, a considerable recognition of these changes now, but it is not enough yet. Even in the Councils of the United Nations, the problems of Asia, the outlook of Asia, the approach of Asia have failed to evoke the enthusiasm that they should. There are many ways of distinguishing between what may be called the approach of Asia and the approach of Europe. Asia today is primarily concerned with what may be called the immediate human problems. In each country of Asia—under-developed countries, more or less—the main problem is the problem of food, of clothing, of education, of health. We are concerned with these problems. We are not directly concerned with problems of power politics. Some of us, in our minds, may perhaps think of that.

Europe, on the other hand, is also concerned with these problems, no doubt, in the devastated regions. Europe has a legacy of conflicts of power, and of problems which come from the possession of power. They have the fear of losing that power and the fear of some one else getting greater power and attacking one country or the other. So that the European approach is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe.

Independence and After, pp. 231-2: from speech in the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 8, 1949.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ASIA

The philosophy of Asia has been and is the philosophy of peace.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 128: from speech at the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, October 24, 1949.

ASIA NOT CONCERNED WITH CONFLICTS OF
WESTERN NATIONS

I wish to speak no ill of anybody. In Asia, all of us have many faults, as countries and as individuals. Our past history shows that. Nevertheless, I say that Europe has been in the past a continent full of conflicts, full of trouble, full of hatred. Europe's conflicts continue, its wars continue, and we have been dragged into these wars because we were tied to Europe's chariot wheels. Are we going to continue to be tied to Europe's troubles, Europe's hatreds and Europe's conflicts?

Of course, Europe and Asia and America are all dependent on one another. It is not right to think in terms of isolation in this modern world. Nevertheless Europe and some other great countries, whatever their political persuasion may be, have got into the habit of thinking that their quarrels are the world's quarrels and that therefore the world must submit to them. I do not follow that reasoning. I do not want anybody to quarrel in Asia, Europe or America, but if the others quarrel, why should I quarrel and why should I be dragged into their quarrels and wars?

Speeches (1953-57), p. 290: from address at the Asia-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 24, 1955.

Prison Life

PRISON LIFE

The years I have spent in prison! Sitting alone, wrapped in my thoughts, how many seasons I have seen go by, following each other into oblivion! How many moons I have watched wax and wane, and the pageant of the stars moving along inexorably and majestically! How many yesterdays of my youth lie buried here; and sometimes I see the ghosts of these dead yesterdays rise up, bringing poignant memories, and whispering to me: 'Was it worth while?' There is no hesitation about the answer. If I were given the chance to go through my life again, with my present knowledge and experience added, I would no doubt try to make many changes in my personal life: I would endeavour to improve in many ways on what I had previously done but my major decisions in public affairs would remain untouched. Indeed, I could not vary them, for they were stronger than myself, and a force beyond my control drove me to them.

Autobiography, p. 598.

MUSINGS ON THE PAST IN PRISON

Prison and its attendant solitude and passivity lead to thought and an attempt to fill the vacuum of life with memories of past living, of one's own life, and of the long chain of history of human activity. So during the past four months, in the course of this writing, I have occupied my mind with India's past records and experience, and out of the multitude of ideas that came to me I have selected some and made a book out of them. Looking back at what I have written, it seems inadequate, disjointed and lacking in unity, a mixture of many things, with the personal element dominant and giving its colour even to what was intended to be an objective record and analysis. That personal element has pushed itself forward almost against my will; often I checked

it and held it back, but sometimes I loosened the reins and allowed it to flow out of my pen, and mirror, to some extent, my mind.

By writing of the past I have tried to rid myself of the burden of the past. But the present remains with all its complexity and irrationality, and the dark future that lies beyond, and the burden of these is no less than that of the past. The vagrant mind, finding no haven, still wanders about restlessly, bringing discomfort to its possessor as well as to others. There is some envy for those virgin minds who have not been soiled or violated by thought's assault, and on which doubt has cast no shadow nor written a line. How easy is life for them in spite of its occasional shock and pain!

The Discovery of India, pp. 581-2.

A PERIOD IN PRISON IS EDUCATIVE

I am beginning to believe that a period in prison is a very desirable part of one's education.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 3.

TIME IN PRISON

Time seems to change its nature in prison. The present hardly exists for there is an absence of feeling and sensation which might separate it from the dead past. Even news of the active, living and dying world outside has a certain dream-like unreality, an immobility and an unchangeableness as of the past. The outer objective time ceases to be, the inner and subjective sense remains but at a lower level, except when thought pulls it out of the present and experiences a kind of reality in the past or in the future. We live, as Auguste Comte said, dead men's lives, encased in our pasts, but this is especially so in prison where we try to find some sustenance for our starved and locked-up emotions in memory of the past or fancies of the future.

The Discovery of India, p. 7.

'L I F E R S'

High walls and prison gates cut off the little world of prison

from the wide world outside. Here in this prison world everything is different; there are no colours, no changes, no movement, no hope, no joy for the long-term prisoner, the 'lifer'. Life runs its dull round with a terrible monotony; it is all flat desert land with no high points and no oases to quench one's thirst or shelter one from the burning heat. Days run into weeks, and weeks into months and years till the sands of life run out.

All the might of the State is against him and none of the ordinary checks are available. Even the voice of pain is hushed, the cry of agony cannot be heard beyond the high walls. In theory there are some checks and visitors and officials from outside go to inspect. But it is rare for a prisoner to dare to complain to them, and those who dare have to suffer for their daring. The visitor goes, the petty gaol officials remain, and it is with them that he has to pass his days. It is not surprising that he prefers to put up with his troubles rather than risk an addition to them.

India and the World, pp. 115-16.

ANIMALS IN PRISON

I came in contact with animals far more in prison than I had done outside. I had always been fond of dogs, and had kept some, but I could never look after them properly as other matters claimed my attention. In prison I was grateful for their company, Indians, do not, as a rule, approve of animals as household pets. It is remarkable that in spite of their general philosophy of non-violence to animals, they are often singularly careless and unkind to them. Even the cow, that favoured animal, though looked up to and almost worshipped by many Hindus and often the cause of riots, is not treated kindly. Worship and kindness do not always go together.

Autobiography, pp. 358-9.

SOVIET PRISONS

The governor of the prison informed me that the idea underlying the prison system was not to punish or make an example of the offender but to separate him from society and

improve him by making him work in a disciplined manner. Indeed the very word 'prison' was not favoured as it savoured too much of old methods of vengeance and punishment. Instead, a long name, which I forget, but which signified a place for improvement by means of work, or some such thing, was given. The idea was that the human element in the prisoners must not be crushed. No numbers were given to them and as far as we could see, no special dress was prescribed.

Soviet Russia, p. 71.

Religion

WHAT IS RELIGION?

What, then, is religion (to use the word in spite of its obvious disadvantages)? Probably it consists of the inner development of the individual, the evolution of his consciousness in a certain direction which is considered good. What the direction is will again be a matter for debate. But, as far as I understand it, religion lays stress on this inner change and considers outward change as but the projection of this inner development. There can be no doubt that this inner development powerfully influences the outer environment. But it is equally obvious that the outer environment powerfully influences the inner development. Both act and interact on each other. It is a commonplace that in the modern industrial West outward development has far outstripped the inner, but it does not follow, as many people in the East appear to imagine, that because we are industrially backward and our external development has been slow, therefore our inner development has been greater. That is one of the delusions with which we try to comfort ourselves and try to overcome our feeling of inferiority. It may be that individuals can rise above circumstances and environment and reach great inner heights. But for large groups and nations a certain measure of external development is essential before the inner evolution can take place. A man, who is the victim of economic circumstances and who is hedged and restricted by the struggle to live, can very rarely achieve inner consciousness of a high degree. A class that is downtrodden and exploited can never progress inwardly. A nation which is politically and economically subject to another and hedged and circumscribed and exploited can never achieve inner growth. Thus even for inner development external freedom and a suitable environment become necessary.

Autobiography, p. 379.

I have always hesitated to read books of religion. The outward evidence of the practice of religion that I saw did not encourage me to go to the original sources. Yet I had to drift to these books, for ignorance of them was not a virtue and was often a severe drawback. I knew that some of them had powerfully influenced humanity and anything that could have done so must have some inherent power and virtue in it, some vital source of energy. I found great difficulty in reading through many parts of them, for try as I would, I could not rouse up sufficient interest; but the sheer beauty of some passages would hold me. And then a phrase or a sentence would suddenly leap up and electrify me and make me feel the presence of the really great. Some words of the Buddha or of Christ would shine out with deep meaning and seem to me applicable as much today as when they were uttered two thousand or more years ago. There was a compelling reality about them, a permanence which time and space could not touch. So I felt sometimes when I read about Socrates or the Chinese philosophers, and also when I read the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. I was not interested in the metaphysics, or the description of ritual, or the many other things which apparently had no relation to the problems that faced me.

The Discovery of India, p. 76.

NO CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE

In the early days of science there was much talk of a conflict between religion and science, and science was called materialistic and religion spiritual. That conflict hardly seems real today when science has spread out its wings and ventured to make the whole universe its field of action, and converted solid matter itself into airy nothing. Yet the conflict was real, for it was a conflict between the intellectual tyranny imposed by what was deemed to be religion and the free spirit of man nurtured by the scientific method. Between the two there can be no compromise. For science cannot accept the closing of the windows of the mind, by whatever pleasant name this might be called; it cannot en-

courage blind faith in someone else's faith. Science therefore must be prepared not only to look up to the heavens and seek to bring them under its control, but also to look down, unafraid, into the pit of hell. To seek to avoid either is not the way of science. The true scientist is the sage unattached to life and the fruits of action, ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him. To tie himself to a fixed anchorage, from which there is no moving, is to give up that search and to become static in a dynamic world.

Perhaps there is no real conflict between true religion and science, but, if so, religion must put on the garb of science and approach all its problems in the spirit of science. A purely secular philosophy of life may be considered enough by most of us. Why should we trouble ourselves about matters beyond our ken when the problems of the world insistently demand solution? And yet that secular philosophy itself must have some background, some objective, other than merely material well-being. It must essentially have spiritual values and certain standards of behaviour, and, when we consider these, we enter immediately into the realms of what has been called religion.

The Unity of India, pp. 179-80.

THE DEIFICATION OF GREAT MEN

Human beings like to make gods of their great men, whom having deified they refrain from following!

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 133.

MAN CANNOT DO WITHOUT RELIGION

Religion, as I saw it practised, and accepted even by thinking minds, whether it was Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism or Christianity, did not attract me. It seemed to be closely associated with superstitious practices and dogmatic beliefs, and behind it lay a method of approach to life's problems which was certainly not that of science. There was an element of magic about it, an uncritical credulousness, a reliance on the supernatural.

Yet it was obvious that religion had supplied some deeply felt inner need of human nature, and that the vast majority

of people all over the world could not do without some form of religious belief. It had produced many fine types of men and women, as well as bigoted, narrow-minded, cruel tyrants. It had given a set of values to human life, and though some of these values had no application today, or were even harmful, others were still the foundation of morality and ethics.

The Discovery of India, pp. 13-14.

I AM NOT INTERESTED IN DOGMAS

I am not a religious man, dogmas do not appeal to me.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, p. 144.

GOD'S EXISTENCE A NECESSITY

Even if God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him, so Voltaire said—'si dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer'. Perhaps that is true, and indeed the mind of man has always been trying to fashion some such mental image or conception which grew with the mind's growth. But there is something also in the reverse proposition: even if God exists, it may be desirable not to look up to Him or to rely upon Him. Too much dependence on supernatural factors may lead, and has often led, to a loss of selfreliance in man and to a blunting of his capacity and his creative ability. And yet some faith seems necessary in things of the spirit which are beyond the scope of our physical world, some reliance on moral, spiritual and idealistic conceptions, or else we have no anchorage, no objectives or purpose in life. Whether we believe in God or not, it is impossible not to believe in something, whether we call it a creative life-giving force, or vital energy inherent in matter which gives it its capacity for self-movement and change and growth, or by some other name, something that is as real, though elusive, as life is real when contrasted with death. Whether we are conscious of it or not, most of us worship at the invisible altar of some unknown god and offer sacrifices to it—some ideal, personal, national or international; some distant objective that draws us on, though reason itself may find little substance to it; some vague conception of a perfect man

and a better world. Perfection may be impossible of attainment, but the demon in us, some vital force urges us on and we tread that path from generation to generation.

The Discovery of India, p. 625.

THE RIG VEDA

The *Rig Veda*, the first of the *Vedas*, is probably the earliest book that humanity possesses. In it we can find the first outpourings of the human mind, the glow of poetry, the rapture at nature's loveliness and mystery. And in these early hymns there are, as Dr. Macnicol says, the beginnings of 'the brave adventures, made so long ago and recorded here, of those who seek to discover the significance of our world and of man's life within it. . . . India here set out on a quest which she has never ceased to follow'.

The Discovery of India, p. 78.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA

The *Bhagavad Gita* is part of the *Mahabharata*, an episode in the vast drama. But it stands apart and is complete in itself. It is a relatively small poem of 700 verses—'the most beautiful, perhaps the only true philosophical song existing in any known tongue', as William Von Humboldt described it. Its popularity and influence have not waned ever since it was composed and written in the Pre-Buddhistic age and today its appeal is as strong as ever in India. Every school of thought and philosophy looks up to it and interprets it in its own way. In times of crisis, when the mind of man is tortured by doubt and is torn by the conflict of duties, it has turned all the more to the *Gita* for light and guidance. For it is a poem of crisis, of political and social crisis and, even more so, of crisis in the spirit of man. Innumerable commentaries on the *Gita* have appeared in the past and they continue to come out with unfailing regularity. Even the leaders of thought and action of the present day—Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, Gandhi—have written on it, each giving his own interpretation. Gandhiji bases his firm belief in non-violence on it, others justify violence and warfare for a righteous cause.

The *Gita* deals essentially with the spiritual background of human existence and it is in this context that the practical problems of everyday life appear. It is a call to action to meet the obligations and duties of life, but always keeping in view that spiritual background and the larger purpose of the universe. Inaction is condemned, and action and life have to be in accordance with the highest ideals of the age, for these ideals themselves may vary from age to age. The *yugadharma*, the ideal of the particular age, has always to be kept in view.

The message of the *Gita* is not sectarian or addressed to any particular school of thought. It is universal in its approach for everyone, Brahman or outcaste: 'All paths lead to Me', it says. It is because of this universality that it has found favour with all classes and schools. There is something in it which seems to be capable of being constantly renewed and not to become out of date with the passing of time—an inner quality of earnest inquiry and search, of contemplation and action, of balance and equilibrium in spite of conflict and contradiction. There is a poise in it and a unity in the midst of disparity, and its temper is one of supremacy over the changing environment, not by seeking escape from it but fitting in with it. During the two thousand five hundred years since it was written, Indian humanity went repeatedly through the process of change and development and decay; experience succeeded experience, thought followed thought, but it always found something living in the *Gita*, something that fitted into the developing thought and had a freshness and applicability to the spiritual problems that afflict the mind.

The Discovery of India, pp. 114-16.

BUDDHA'S MIDDLE PATH

Buddha's way was the Middle Path, between the extremes of self-indulgence and self-mortification. From his own experience of mortification of the body, he said that a person who has lost his strength cannot progress along the right path. This Middle Path was the Aryan Eightfold Path: Right belief, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right mode of livelihood, right effort, right-mindedness, and

right rapture. It is all a question of self-development, not grace. And if a person succeeds in developing along these lines and conquers himself, there can be no defeat for him — 'Not even a god can change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself'.

Buddha told his disciples what he thought they could understand and live up to. His teaching was not meant to be a full explanation of everything, a complete revelation of all that is. Once, it is said, he took some dry leaves in his hand and asked his favourite disciple Ananda to tell him whether there were any other leaves besides those in his hand. Ananda replied: 'The leaves of autumn are falling on all sides, and there are more of them than can be numbered.' Then said the Buddha: 'In like manner I have given you a handful of truths, but besides these there are many thousands of other truths more than can be numbered.'

The Discovery of India, pp. 140-41.

THE MESSAGE OF THE BUDDHA

I believe that it is essentially through the message of the Buddha that we can look at our problems in the right perspective and draw back from conflict, and from competing with one another in the realm of conflict, violence and hatred. Every action has certain consequences. A good action has certain good consequences. An evil action has evil consequences. That I believe is as good a law of nature as any physical or chemical law. If that is so, hatred, which is evil, must have evil consequences. Violence, which is evil, must have evil consequences and, indeed, leads to the growth of violence. How then are we to escape from this vicious circle? I hope and believe that this year of the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha had led people to look deeper into these problems, and made them realize that they have to search for some kind of union between their day-to-day political, scientific, technological and other activities and a certain measure of spirituality.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 430-1: from Valedictory Address at the Seminar on Buddhism, New Delhi, November 29, 1956.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDIANS AND OTHERS

I won't put it that way, that Indians are more 'spiritual'. I would say that a static society talks more about so-called spirituality. Yet, naturally, there are differences between Indians and other peoples. It is not that Indians are better than others. But, for instance, even if wealth is naturally desired by people the wealthy man has never been greatly admired here. Wealth is wanted, but somehow in the whole of our past the man of learning was always much more respected than the wealthy man. It is a national outlook. One of those factors which have influence. But, naturally, the urge for material advance is present.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, pp. 118-19.

A LIVING PHILOSOPHY

A living philosophy must answer the problems of today.

The Discovery of India, p. 20.

A SENSE OF THE MYSTERIOUS

Often as I look at this world, I have a sense of mysteries, of unknown depths. The urge to understand it, in so far as I can, comes to me; to be in tune with it and to experience it in its fullness. But the way to that understanding seems to me essentially the way of science, the way of objective approach, though I realize that there can be no such thing as true objectiveness. If the subjective element is unavoidable and inevitable, it should be conditioned as far as possible by the scientific method.

What the mysterious is I do not know. I do not call it God because God has come to mean much that I do not believe in. I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown supreme power in anthropomorphic terms, and the fact that many people think so is continually a source of surprise to me. Any idea of a personal God seems very odd to me. Intellectually, I can appreciate to some extent the conception of monism, and I have been attracted towards the *Advaita* (non-dualist) philosophy of the *Vedanta*, though I do not presume to understand it in all its

depth and intricacy, and I realize that merely an intellectual appreciation of such matters does not carry one far. At the same time the *Vedanta*, as well as other similar approaches, rather frighten me with their vague formless incursions into infinity. The diversity and fullness of nature stir me and produce a harmony of the spirit, and I can imagine myself feeling at home in the old Indian or Greek pagan and pantheistic atmosphere, but minus the conception of god or gods that was attached to it.

The Discovery of India, pp. 16-17.

O F D E A T H

Someone said the other day: death is the birthright of every person born. A curious way of putting an obvious thing. It is a birthright which nobody has denied or can deny, and which all of us seek to forget and escape so long as we may. And yet there was something novel and attractive about the phrase. Those who complain so bitterly of life have always a way out of it, if they so chose. That is always in our power to achieve. If we cannot master life we can at least master death. A pleasing thought lessening the feeling of helplessness.

The Discovery of India, p. 12.

T H E D E A T H P E N A L T Y

Life has become so cheap that it does not seem of much consequence whether a few criminals are put to death or not. Sometimes one wonders whether a sentence to live is not the hardest punishment of all.

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 500: from Letter to George Bernard Shaw, dated September 4, 1948.

D E F I A N C E O F D E A T H

Wonderful is the courage that conquers death!

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 64.

T H E N E X T W O R L D

I am afraid the next world does not interest me. My mind

is too full of what I should do in this world, and if I see my way clearly here, I am content. If my duty here is clear to me, I do not trouble myself about any other world.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 58.

Nature

THE BEAUTY OF SPRINGTIME

Sometimes I would lie under the pine trees and listen to the voice of the wandering wind, whispering many strange things into my ears, and lulling my senses, and cooling the fever in my brain. Finding me unguarded and open to attack, it would cunningly point out the folly of men's ways in the world below, their unceasing strife, their passions and hatred, their bigotry in the name of religion, the corruption of their politics, the degradation of their ideals. Was it worth while going back to them and wasting one's life's effort in dealings with them? Here there was peace and quiet and well-being, and for companions we had the snows and the mountains and the hillsides covered with a multitude and a variety of trees and flowers, and the singing of birds. So whispered the wind, softly and cunningly, and in the enchantment of the spring day I allowed her to whisper.

It was early spring still in the mountains, though down below summer was already peeping in. On the hill-sides the rhododendron flowers made bright red patches which could be seen from afar. The fruit trees were full of bloom, and millions of tiny leaves were on the point of coming out to cover with their fresh, tender, green beauty the nakedness of many of the trees.

The Unity of India, p. 202.

HUMAN BEINGS ARE LIKE FLOWERS OR PLANTS

A human being grows and ought to grow like a flower or a plant. You cannot pull it out; you can water it; you can help it grow; you can give it good soil; you can put it in the fresh air or in the sun. But it has to grow by itself; you cannot make it grow by force. Many of our people sometimes think that you could make something grow by some

decree from above but you cannot.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 72: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 17, 1952.

KASHMIR

Like some supremely beautiful women, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below. It had a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and, like a transparent veil, give glimpses of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain-top, or creep down stealthily like children at play. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was overpowering and I felt almost faint. As I gazed at it, it seemed to me dream-like and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening.

The Unity of India, p. 223.

THE WITCHERY OF THE TROPICS

Fourteen months have passed by since I wrote to you from Naini Prison about past history. Three months later I added two short letters to that series from the Arabian Sea. We were on board the *Cracovia* then, hurrying to Lanka (Ceylon). As I wrote, the great big sea stretched out before me and my hungry eyes gazed at it and could not take their fill. Then came Lanka, and for a month we made glorious holiday and tried to forget our troubles and worries. Up and down that most beautiful of islands we went, wondering at its exceeding loveliness and at the abundance of Nature.

Kandy and Nuwara Eliya and Anuradhapura, with its ruins and relics of old greatness; how pleasant it is to think of the many places we visited! But above all, I love to think of the cool tropical jungle with its abundant life, looking at you with a thousand eyes; and of the graceful areca tree, slender and straight and true; and the innumerable coconuts; and the palm-fringed seashore where the emerald green of the island meets the blue of the sea and the sky; and the seawater glistens and plays on the surf, and the wind rustles through the palm-leaves.

It was your first visit to the tropics, and for me also, but for a brief stay long ago, the memory of which had almost faded, it was a new experience. I had not been attracted to them, as I feared the heat. It was the sea and the mountain, and above all, the high snows and glaciers, that fascinated me. But even during our short stay in Ceylon I felt something of the charm and the witchery of the tropics, and I came back, somewhat wistfully, hoping to make friends with them again.

Our month of holiday in Ceylon ended too soon, and we crossed the narrow seas to the southern tip of India. Do you remember our visit to Kanya-Kumari, where the Virgin Goddess is said to dwell and keep guard, and which Westerners with their genius for twisting and corrupting our names, have called Cape Comorin? We sat literally at the feet of Mother India then, and we saw the Arabian Sea meet the waters of the Bay of Bengal, and we liked to imagine that they were both paying homage to India. Wonderfully peaceful it was there, and my mind travelled several thousand miles to the other extremity of India where the eternal snows crown the Himalayas and peace also dwells.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, pp. 84-5.

ANCIENT INDIANS FOUND INTENSE JOY IN NATURE

In India we find during every period when her civilization bloomed, an intense joy in life and nature, a pleasure in the act of living, the development of art and music and literature and song and dancing and painting and the theatre, and even a highly sophisticated inquiry into the sex rela-

tion. It is inconceivable that a culture or a view of life based on other-worldliness or world-worthlessness could have produced all these manifestations of vigorous and varied life. Indeed it should be obvious that any culture that was basically other-worldly could not have carried on for thousands of years.

The Discovery of India, p. 82.

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS AND VALLEYS

Day succeeded day and I drank deep of the mountain air and took my fill of the sight of the snows and the valleys. How beautiful and full of peace they were, and the world's ills seemed far away and unreal. Towards the West and the South-east deep valleys, two or three thousand feet below us, curved away in the distance. Towards the north towered Nanda Devi and her white-clad companions. Fierce precipices, almost straight cut, sometimes led to the depths below, but more often the curves of the hill-sides were soft and rounded like a woman's breast. Or they would be cut in terraces where green fields witnessed to the industry of man.

In the early morning I lay bare-bodied in the open and the gentle-eyed sun of the mountains took me into his warm embrace. The cold wind from the snows made me shiver a little, but the sun would come to my rescue and fill me with warmth and well-being.

The Unity of India, pp. 201-2.

NATURE AND AGE

But days passed and months and years, and life is short, and a fear gripped me with this passing of time. Age may have its advantages, and the Chinese, above all other people, have praised them. It gives, or should give stability and equilibrium to the mind, a sense of poise, an appearance of wisdom, even a keener appreciation of beauty in all its forms. But age is stiff and crabbed, unimpressionable and reacts slowly to outside stimuli. It cannot be moulded easily; its emotional reactions are limited. It looks to comfort and security more than to the fine frenzy of enthusiasm. While it

gives its sober and reasoned appreciation to the beauty of nature and art, it does not mirror this beauty in its eyes or feel it in its heart. It makes all the difference in the world whether one visits Italy—not Fascist Italy, but the Italy of song and music and beautiful art, of Leonardo and Raphael and Michael Angelo, of Dante and Petrarch—in one's youth or in later years. Besides, what can age do to a mountain except sit and gaze in silent wonder?

The Unity of India, p. 220.

Peace

P E A C E

Peace can only come when nations are free and also when human beings everywhere have freedom and security and opportunity. Peace and freedom, therefore, have to be considered both in their political and economic aspects. The countries of Asia, we must remember, are very backward and the standards of life are appallingly low. These economic problems demand urgent solution or else crisis and disaster may overwhelm us. We have, therefore, to think in terms of the common man and fashion our political, economic and social structure so that the burdens that have crushed him may be removed, and he may have full opportunity for growth.

Independence and After, p. 299: from speech inaugurating the Asian Conference, New Delhi, March 23, 1947.

P E A C E P A R A M O U N T F O R T H E W O R L D ' S P R O G R E S S O R S U R V I V A L

The question of peace becomes of paramount importance if this world of ours is to make progress or indeed even survive. Peace in our view is not merely abstention from war but an active and positive approach to international problems and relations, leading, first, to the lessening of the present tension through an attempt to solve our problems by methods of negotiation, and then, to a growing co-operation between nations in various ways—cultural and scientific contacts, increase in trade and commerce, and exchange of ideas, experience and information. We should endeavour to remove all walls and barriers to the growth of our minds and hearts such as come in the way of international co-operation. There is no reason why different countries having different political or social or economic systems should not co-operate in this

way, provided there is no interference with one another and no imposition or attempt to dominate.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 303-4: from statement at the Dynamo Stadium, Moscow, June 22, 1955.

PEACE NOT THE RESULT OF WARS

Surely the lesson of those wars has been that out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. The lesson of history, the long course of history, and more especially the lesson of the last two great wars which have devastated humanity, has been that out of hatred and violence only hatred and violence will come. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence and not the most brilliant will get you out of it, unless you look some other way and find some other means. It is obvious that if you continue in this cycle and have wars which this Assembly was especially meant to avoid and prevent, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world, but non-achievement by any individual Power or group of its objective.

Independence and After, p. 299: from address to the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, November 3, 1948.

PEACE INDIVISIBLE IN THE WORLD TODAY

The vast strides that technology has made have brought a new age of which the United States of America is the leader. Today the whole world is our neighbour and the old divisions of continents and countries matter less and less. Peace and freedom have become indivisible and the world cannot continue for long partly free and partly subject. In this atomic age, peace has also become a test of human survival. Recently, we have witnessed two tragedies which have powerfully affected men and women all over the world. These are the tragedies in Egypt and Hungary. Our deeply felt sympathies must go out to those who have suffered or are suffering and all of us must do our utmost to help them

and to assist in solving these problems in a peaceful and constructive way.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 48-9: from television and radio address, Washington, U.S.A., December 18, 1956.

MILITARY PACTS AND ARMAMENTS WORK AGAINST WORLD PEACE

We do not presume to advise others, but we are convinced that it is not by military pacts and alliances and by the piling up of armaments that world peace and security can be attained. Not being military-minded, we do not appreciate the use of military phraseology or military approaches in considering the problems of today. There are talks of cold war and rival camps and groupings and military blocs and alliances, all in the name of peace. We are in no camp and in no military alliances. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill which should include as many countries as possible and which should be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on goodwill and co-operation. If peace is sought after, it has to be by the methods of peace and the language of peace and goodwill.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 310: from speech in Hindi at Banquet to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev, New Delhi, November 20, 1955.

NO ONE CAN BE A PROPHET OF PEACE

Nobody can guarantee peace for any great length of time.

Independence and After, p. 257: from speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, March 22, 1949.

PEACE POSSIBLE ONLY WITH INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

It appears to me that the only possibility of achieving real peace lies in greater and greater international co-operation

on every plane.

Independence and After, p. 313: from speech at the First Regional Committee Meeting of the World Health Organization for South East Asia, October 4, 1948.

INDIA ONLY INTERESTED IN WORLD PEACE

Our main stake in world affairs is peace, to see that there is racial equality and that people who are still subjugated should be free.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 68: from speech in Parliament, New Delhi, December 6, 1950.

MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE

In India during the last quarter of a century or more, Mahatma Gandhi made an outstanding contribution not only to the freedom of India but to that of world peace. He taught us the doctrine of non-violence, not as a passive submission to evil, but as an active and positive instrument for the peaceful solution of international differences. He showed us that the human spirit is more powerful than the mightiest of armaments. He applied moral values to political action and pointed out that ends and means can never be separated, for the means ultimately govern the end. If the means are evil, then the end itself becomes distorted and at least partially evil. Any society based on injustice must necessarily have the seeds of conflict and decay within it so long as it does not get rid of that evil.

Independence and After, p. 302: from a talk broadcast to the United States of America from New Delhi, April 3, 1948.

Women and Children

UNDEMOCRATIC TO DISCRIMINATE AGAINST HALF THE POPULATION

You cannot have a democracy if you cut off a large chunk of humanity, fifty per cent of the people, and put them in a class apart in regard to social privileges and the like. They are bound to rebel and rightly. I believe some Hon. Members spoke with disdain of what they consider certain trends in the social life of upper-class Indian women. Well, I am not a great admirer of certain types of development which we see in New Delhi. If we do not like these developments, let us try to change them. But what exactly does that argument lead to? Does that mean that you should perpetuate or petrify conditions which themselves are leading to these cracks and break-ups in Hindu society?

Speeches (1953-57), p. 451: from speech on the Hindu Marriage Bill in the Lok Sabha, New Delhi, May 5, 1955.

POSITION OF WOMEN INDICATES WHAT A NATION IS LIKE

A great French writer once remarked: 'If you want me to tell you what a nation is like, or what a social organization is like, tell me the position of women in that nation.' The status and social place of women will indicate the country's character more than anything else. That applies equally to the educational, social, economic and other fields.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 399: from speech at the foundation of a women's college, Madras, January 22, 1955.

WOMEN IN PURDAH

Whenever I think of the women in *purdah*, cut off from the

outside world, I invariably think of a prison or a zoo! How can a nation go ahead if half of its population is kept hidden away in a kind of prison? Tear the *pardah*, and let each one of us see the light of day.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 233.

In my own part of the country, you can see a woman working hard in the field or elsewhere with her menfolk, but when the husband begins to earn more, people seem to think that she should retire into *pardah*. Doing no work is considered a sign of high status. The whole conception behind this business is totally unsuited to our times. Of course, in my part of the world, there are strange stories which some of you may have heard about what the Begums of Oudh used to do or what people thought they ought to have done. They were so delicately nurtured, it seems, that whenever they saw an orange at a distance they caught a cold. It is said that when a doctor, or a *hakim* was called in, he was not supposed to feel the pulse in the normal way. Apart from being improper, it was thought it might hurt the ladies' gentle wrists if the doctor touched them. So it was arranged that a slender thread should run from the wrist to the doctor who should feel the thread and read the pulse. That might have been a good way of proceeding in the matter, because most of these women were neurotics and required no treatment. And so it did not matter what their pulse said.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 399-400: from speech at the foundation of a women's college, Madras, January 22, 1955.

NO PURDAH IN ANCIENT INDIA

There was no seclusion of women in ancient India except to some extent among royalty and the nobility. Probably there was more segregation of the sexes in Greece than in India then. Women of note and learning are frequently mentioned in the old Indian books, and often they took part in public debates.

The Discovery of India, pp. 169-70.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Whatever group or religion one might belong to, education

is essential. By education I mean education and not merely learning to be lady-like. Learning to be lady-like may be good in itself but it is not education as such. Education has mainly two aspects, the cultural aspect which makes a person grow, and the productive aspect which makes a person do things. Both are essential. Everybody should be a producer as well as a good citizen and not a sponge on another person even though the other person may be one's own husband or wife. That is the way we are developing and persons who do not wake up to this fact and prepare themselves for it will just be left behind.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 401-2: from speech at the foundation of a women's college, Madras, January 22, 1955.

D I V O R C E

Divorce must not be looked upon as something which makes the custom of marriage fragile. I do not accept that. If that is so, I say that marriage has itself become a cloak. It is not a real marriage of the minds or bodies. If you compel and force people in this way, it will just be an enforced thing which has no value left in ethics and morality. Certainly stop them from acting rashly. Give them time. Make attempts to bring about a reconciliation. If all that fails, don't permit a state of affairs which, I think, is the essence of evil, which is bad for them, which is bad for the children, bad for everybody. I would particularly beg the House to take the view that this clause about divorce by mutual consent, subject to time, subject to reconciliation, subject to all such approaches, so that nothing may be done in a hurry, is a right and proper clause. It will produce a happier adjustment and a better relationship between the parties than would be produced if one party thinks that he can misbehave as much as he likes and nothing will happen.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 444-5: from speech in Lok Sabha on Special Marriage Bill, New Delhi, September 16, 1954.

H I G H I D E A L S O F I N D I A N W O M A N H O O D

We are often reminded of the high ideals of Indian woman-

hood, Sita and Savitri. Well, everyone here, I take it, admires these ideals and thinks of Sita and Savitri and other heroines of India with reverence and respect and affection. Sita and Savitri are mentioned as ideals for the women. I do not seem to remember men being reminded in the same manner of Ramachandra and Satyavan, and urged to behave like them. It is only the women who have to behave like Sita and Savitri; the men may behave as they like. I do not know whether Indian men are supposed to be perfect, incapable of further improvement.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 451: from speech in the Lok Sabha on the Hindu Marriage Bill, New Delhi, May 5, 1955.

I AM PROUD OF THE WOMEN OF INDIA

I am not competent to judge the social fabric of other countries. Though I may be a little more competent, perhaps, because of the opportunities I have had for travel abroad, than many members here, yet I say I am not competent to judge. But I can say with considerable confidence that I am proud of the women of India. I am proud of their beauty, grace, charm, shyness, modesty, intelligence, and their spirit of sacrifice, and I think if anybody can truly represent the spirit of India, the woman can do it and not the men. Every time that a woman has been sent abroad, she has done well; not only done well, but produced a fine impression about the womanhood of India.

I have the greatest admiration—I am not talking about the ancient Indian ideal of womanhood, which I certainly admire—for the women of India today. I have faith in them. I am not afraid to allow them freedom to grow, because I am convinced that no amount of legal constraint can prevent society from going in a certain direction. And if you put too much restraint, the structure breaks.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 453: from speech in the Lok Sabha on the Hindu Marriage Bill, New Delhi, May 5, 1955.

I AM FOND OF CHILDREN

I like being with children and talking to them and, even

more, playing with them. For a moment I forget that I am terribly old and that it is a very long time ago since I was a child. But when I sit down to write to you, I cannot forget my age and the distance that separates you from me. Old people have a habit of delivering sermons and giving good advice to the young. I remember that I disliked this very much long ago when I was a boy. So, I suppose you do not like it very much either. Grown-ups have also a habit of appearing to be very wise, even though very few of them possess much wisdom. I have not quite made up my mind yet whether I am wise or not. Sometimes listening to others, I feel I must be very wise and brilliant and important. Then, looking at myself I begin to doubt this. In any event, people who are wise do not talk about their wisdom and do not behave as if they were very superior persons.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 439: from Children's Number of *Shanker's Weekly*, December 3, 1949.

DUTY OF THE STATE TOWARDS CHILDREN

Nothing saddens me so much as the sight of children who are denied education, sometimes denied even food and clothing. If our children today are denied education, what is our India of tomorrow going to be? It is the duty of the State to provide good education for every child in the country. And I would add that it is the duty of the State to provide free education to every child in the country. Unfortunately, we cannot do all these things quickly and suddenly, because of our lack of resources and lack of teachers. But we have to get going. After all, whatever pattern of society we are looking forward to must contain trained human beings, not people who have just learned to read and write, but trained people whose character has been developed, whose mind has aspirations and some elements of culture about it and who can do something with their hands.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 403: from address at the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress, January 23, 1955.

Happiness and Health

H A P P I N E S S

Happiness, after all, is an inner state of mind. It is little dependent on outside environment. Happiness has very little to do, for instance, with whether you are rich or not rich. Some of the most miserable persons I have come across in my life are the rich people. It is true that poverty makes one miserable in a very acute way. But my point is that it is not wealth but co-ordination of one's thought and action which removes inner conflicts. It is in that way that integration of personality is achieved.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 472-3: from speech at the Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, October 23, 1955.

T H O U G H T A N D A C T I O N

It is easy to admire the beauties of the universe and to live in a world of thought and imagination. But to try to escape in this way from the unhappiness of others, caring little what happens to them, is no sign of courage or fellow-feeling. Thought, in order to justify itself, must lead to action.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 1503.

C O - O R D I N A T I O N O F T H O U G H T A N D A C T I O N M A K E S F O R H A P P I N E S S

Thought without action is abortion. Action without thought is folly. . . . The more action and thought are allied and integrated, the more effective they become and the happier you grow. There will then be no inner conflict between a wish to do something and inability to act or between thinking one way and acting in another. The happiest man is he

whose thinking and action are co-ordinated.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 472: from speech at the Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, October 23, 1955.

TRIBAL PEOPLE ENJOY LIFE

Who are these tribal folk? A way of describing them is that they are the people of the frontiers or those who live away from the interior of this country. Just as the hills breed a different type of people from those who inhabit the plains, so also the frontier breeds a different type of people from those who live away from the frontier. My own predilection is for the mountains rather than for the plains, for the hill folk rather than for the plains people. So also I prefer the frontier, not only in a physical sense but because the idea of living near a frontier appeals to me intellectually. I feel that it would prevent one from becoming complacent and complacency is a very grave danger, especially in a great country like India where the nearest frontier may be a thousand miles away.

We should have a receptive attitude to the tribal people. There is a great deal we can learn from them, particularly in the frontier areas; and having learnt, we must try to help and co-operate. They are an extremely disciplined people, often a great deal more democratic than most others in India. Even though they have no constitution, they are able to function democratically and carry out the decisions made by their elders or their representatives. Above all, they are people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life; not people who sit in stock exchanges, shout at one another and think themselves civilized.

I would prefer being a nomad in the hills to being a member of stock exchanges, where one is made to sit and listen to noises that are ugly to a degree. Is that the civilization we want the tribal people to have? I hope not. I am quite sure that the tribal folk, with their civilization of song and dance, will last till long after stock exchanges have ceased to

exist.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 43; from speech at the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Areas Conference, New Delhi, June 7, 1952.

GOOD HEALTH

I claim to have good health and I am prepared to meet anybody of my age in most contests, physical or other. If they want to run a hundred yards, I will run with them; or if they want to swim I will swim with them; if they want to ride, I will race with them on horse-back. I may not be quite so agile and active as I was then, ten or twenty or thirty years ago; nevertheless, if I may take you into my confidence, I have always attached a good deal of importance to the body. It is everybody's duty to be fit and strong. I have always had an acute dislike for illness or feebleness. I do not sympathize with anybody's illness. I say so because many people here think that it is aristocratic to be ill and feeble. I want young people and old to be healthy and strong and agile, and I want them to be physically an A-1 nation. I do not think we can really make much intellectual progress unless we have a good physical background.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 404; from speech at the Avadi Session of the Indian National Congress, January 23, 1955.

RENUNCIATION THE KEY TO HAPPINESS

Einstein, most eminent among scientists, tells us that 'the fate of the human race was more than ever dependent on its moral strength today. The way to a joyful and happy state is through renunciation and self-limitation everywhere'. He takes us back suddenly from this proud age of science to the old philosophers, from the lust for power and the profit motive to the spirit of renunciation with which India has been so familiar. Probably most other scientists of today will not agree with him in this or when he says: 'I am absolutely convinced that no wealth in the world can help humanity forward, even in the hands of the most devoted workers in

the cause. The example of great and pure characters is the only thing that can produce fine ideas or noble deeds. Money only appeals to selfishness and always tempts its owners irresistibly to abuse it.'

The Discovery of India, p. 682.

The United States of America

MY VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IS A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

The President of the United States described my visit to this country in vivid language as a voyage of discovery. That description was true enough, as I had to learn and find out many things; and yet, how can any one discover this great country in three or four weeks? All my life I have been engaged in a quest—the discovery of my own country—India. During this life's journey of discovery, I have found much in my country that inspired me, much that interested me and much that made me understand a little of what India was and is today. And yet India, with the weight of ages behind her and with her urges and desires in the present, has only been partially discovered by me and I am continually finding out new facets of her many-sided personality that continually surprise me.

How then can I presume to discover this great country during a brief visit? And yet, even a brief visit may give some insight into the ideals and objectives and the springs of action of a nation. So, I made myself receptive in order to understand somewhat the spirit of America and the sources of the inner strength that have made her great. All the world sees, sometimes, perhaps, with a little envy, her great prosperity and the tremendous advance she has made in the application of science for human betterment. From that, all of us have to learn much; and yet, it was obvious to me that no great material advance could take place or could last long unless there were deeper foundations underlying it. The picture of the average American presented to the outside world is of a hard-headed, efficient and practical businessman, intent on making money and using that money to add to his power and influence. That picture, no doubt, has some truth in it. And yet there is another picture and, I

think, a much more enduring one, of a warm-hearted and very generous people, full of goodwill for others and with a firm belief in the basic principles on which this great Republic was founded—the principles of freedom, equality, and democracy. It has been my good fortune to see this latter picture wherever I have gone and this has made me realize wherein lies the real strength of America. Everywhere I have found a love of freedom and a desire for peace and co-operation and, among the people, a frankness and human approach which make friendly understanding easy. Because of this approach I have also ventured to speak frankly what I had in my mind.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 417-18: from Address at the University of California, October 31, 1949.

AN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS IS THE PURPOSE OF MY VISIT

I have come to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective peoples and those strong and sometimes invisible links, stronger even than physical links, that bind countries together. The President referred the day before yesterday, in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The United States of America is not an unknown country even in far-off India and many of us have grown up in admiration of the ideals and objectives which have made this country great. Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries, what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful co-operation in the pursuit of common ideals. What the world lacks most is, perhaps, understanding and appreciation of one another among nations and people. I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus, we may promote that understanding and co-operation which, I feel sure, both our countries

earnestly desire.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 121: from address to the East and West Association, New York, October 19, 1949.

COMMON THINGS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES

However the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different. Like you we shall be a Republic based on the federal principle which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic. In a vast country like India, as in this Republic of the United States, it becomes necessary to have a delicate balance between central control and State autonomy. We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter, therefore, the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 123: from address to the East and West Association, New York, October 19, 1949.

MY AIM IS TO HARMONIZE ACTION WITH IDEALS

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as Prime Minister of a great country or a politician but rather as a humble seeker after truth and as one who has continually struggled to find the way not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that he has held. The process is always difficult but it becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion. Politicians have to deal with day to day problems and they seek immediate results. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day to day world and its problems. Neither

approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine those two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher-kings? You, Sir, who have had the experience of the role of a great man of action and also that of a philosopher as head of this university, should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet, how are we to act, even in the present, unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women, who are in the university today and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards or values that there is hope for the next generation.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 395: from speech on the occasion of the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Laws, Columbia University, New York, October 17, 1949.

I HAVE COME TO AMERICA TO LEARN

Whether India has anything special to teach to the United States, I do not know. That is for you to judge. Certainly, I have not come to the United States to teach anybody anything. I have come here to improve my own education as far as possible to learn something from America and to learn something about the world through American eyes, because both are important to me. I believe I retain something still of the spirit of a student and the curiosity of youth. It is not only this curiosity but rather a compelling necessity that makes me feel that I ought or rather that we in India ought to understand America better. Whether we agree with everything that the United States does or does not is another matter.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 117-18: from Address to the House of Representatives and the Senate, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1949.

OURS IS AN AGE OF PARADOX

We live in an age of paradox and continuing crisis. We talk of peace and prepare for war. We discuss internationalism and 'One World' and yet narrow nationalism governs our activities. There is said to be a conflict of ideologies and this argument and the conflict that flows from it usually takes place without much thought of the ideals and the objectives that should govern us. We move from one temporary expedient to another, never catching up with the pace of events. Priding ourselves on shaping history, we function from day to day as slaves of events that inexorably unroll themselves before our eyes and fear possesses us and hatred follows in its train. . . . The long course of history of human development shows us that there are certain basic truths and realities that do not change with the changing times and unless we hold fast to them we are likely to go astray. The present generation has gone astray often in spite of all the wonderful accumulation of knowledge that we possess and danger always looms ahead.

What then is lacking and how can we solve these crises in human affairs? I am no prophet nor have I any magical remedy to suggest. I have tried to grope my way, to think straight and to co-ordinate, as far as possible, action to thought. I have often found it difficult to do so, for action on the political plane is not individual action but group and mass action. Nevertheless, I am convinced that any policy, any ideology, which ignores truth and character in human beings and which preaches hatred and violence, can only lead to evil results.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 420-1: from Address at the University of California, October 31, 1949.

THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY

As I stand here in the beautiful campus of this university, surrounded by the peace and beauty of nature and the creative genius of man, the conflicts and the troubles of the world seem far away. The past crowds in upon me, the past of Asia, of Europe and of America and standing on this razor's edge of the present, I try to peep into the future. I

see in this past the long struggle of Man against adverse surroundings and in the face of innumerable difficulties. I see his repeated martyrdom and crucifixion but I see also the spirit of man rising again and again and triumphing over every adversity. Let us look at this perspective of history, gain wisdom and courage from it and not be oppressed too much by the burden of the past and of the present. We are the heirs of all these ages that have gone before us and it has been given to us to play our part during a period of great transition in this world. That is a privilege and a responsibility and we should accept it without fear or apprehension. History tells us of Man's struggle for freedom and in spite of many failures, his achievements and successes have been remarkable. True freedom is not merely political but must also be economic and spiritual. Only then can Man grow and fulfil his destiny. That freedom has also to be envisaged today not merely in terms of group freedom often resulting in nations warring against one another but as individual freedom within free national groups in the larger context of world freedom and order. The problems of Asia, of Europe and of America can no longer be dealt with separately; they are parts of a single world problem. The future appears to be full of conflict and difficulty but I have little doubt that the spirit of Man, which has survived so much, will triumph again.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 422-3: from Address at the University of California, October 31, 1949.

APPRECIATION OF AMERICA AND ITS PEOPLE

You will not expect me to say that I admire everything that I find here in the United States. I don't. The United States has got a reputation abroad—Mrs. Roosevelt referred to it—of being materialistic and of being tough in matters of money. Well, I could not imagine that any country could achieve greatness even in the material field without some basic moral and spiritual background. Also, Americans are supposed to be very hardheaded businessmen. I have found a very great deal of generosity and an enormous amount of hospitality and friendliness. Now, all this creates that

emotional atmosphere that helps in the development of friendly relations and in the understand of individuals as well as of nations. I shall go back from here much richer than I came, richer in experience, richer in the fund of memories that I take back and richer in the intellectual and emotional understanding and appreciation of the people of this great country.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 119: from Address to the House of Representatives and the Senate, Washington, D.C., October 13, 1949.

I AM NOT INTERESTED IN THE AMERICAN
WAY OF LIFE

I think that the American people have many admirable qualities. Yet I am not interested in many aspects of American life. For instance, I am not interested in providing every person in India with a motor car, with a washing machine or with a refrigerator. The thing just does not come to my head at all. It is not that I am against material comfort, but I am not sure that it is too good to have too much of it.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, p. 99.

Newspapers

THE POWER OF THE PRESS

Life, after all, may be considered from many points of view—political, economic and other; these are very important but surely there is something beyond all this; otherwise, everything that you gain by political thought and economic welfare, would be without significance. It is most distressing to see the gradual passing of what was gracious in life and instead, gradual extension and increase of what is vulgar. An individual may be good or bad, vulgar or otherwise. But it is a dangerous thing for a country to go down the scale of values in this way. In this matter, the press can perform a most important function. It can render much help in combating vulgarity. The views of a newspaper on political issues may not be accepted, I rather doubt myself if newspapers have any very great influence on political opinion. They give the news, of course; but I rather doubt if they have any great influence politically. You have seen in other countries—democratic countries—how a great number of newspapers have supported one party while another has won the elections. So, it appears that newspapers do not have the same effect on public opinion as people imagine they do. I am sure they wield tremendous power, not only through day to day news but through the colour they give it, through the restraint or looseness of expression, through vulgarity or its absence. The daily dose, regularly given, affects the reader's mind. If you tell him to do this or that, he may resist; but the slight daily dose, if it is right, improves his mind and, if it is wrong, corrupts it. There is a certain lack of social conscience in this country in spite of our high ideals. I react strongly against the idea of regimentation anywhere and much more so in a vast country like India, where there are so many different approaches, so many different aspects, to life. But I am also against the loose and incorrect

behaviour of the people and their lack of discipline. This weakens us physically but, what is worse, it weakens us psychologically, too. In this matter, also, I think, the press can help tremendously, not only by building up a better and a higher social conscience but also a code of social behaviour in the little things of life. We tend to think that we need not worry about the little things of life because we are pre-occupied with the big things of life. That is utterly and fundamentally wrong. If you are, let us say, wedded or attracted to the ideal of truth and beauty, you cannot follow that ideal if you deal with the ugly and untruthful in the little things of life. We take pride in saying that the civilization of the West is a material one and is opposed to ours which is spiritual. Having said so, we indulge in things which totally lack the normal social proprieties. We say we are above them but, as a matter of fact, it is not quite clear where the question of spirituality comes in. I do not believe that a person who ignores the small things of life, the small truths, the small decencies, the small pleasantnesses, the small graciousness, can undertake anything in a big way.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 463-4: from speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi December 3, 1950.

THE WORLD OF TODAY

The world of today is not for the complacent or the slow of foot or those who are the slaves of events.

The Unity of India, p. 147.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS MEANS TOLERANCE OF THOUGHT

It is not enough to talk of political unity. We must have something deeper than that. We must have emotional unity, which does away with provincial barriers. Only then can you talk about a really unified India. Only then can you achieve that broad tolerance of thought and expression which you lay stress on when you speak of the freedom of the press. We shall need it more and more in our general

relations between different groups and different parts.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 455: from address at the All-India Newspapers Editors' Conference, New Delhi, August 13, 1954.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS DOES NOT MEAN LICENSE

You talk about the freedom of the press. Should a person bring out a sheet with the liberty simply to say and do every kind of wrong thing, under the aegis of the noble doctrine of the freedom of the press? Obviously anybody can bring out anything; the only limitation can be that of money or the number of purchasers he will have. And he can do a lot of mischief by propagating all kinds of pernicious ideas—I am not thinking in terms of politics. Suppose some noted gangster started preaching gangsterism, not patently and obviously but in a disguised way. Well, then the freedom of the press would mean the preaching of gangsterism or the preaching of hatred of others, which is common enough in many countries. It may be that, if you have hatred in your mind, perhaps it is better to have it out instead of nursing it; but to preach it from day to day to immature minds, surely, cannot be good.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 469: from speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, September 17, 1952.

WISE PEOPLE ARE SILENT AND HUMBLE

People who are wise do not talk about their wisdom and do not behave as if they were very superior persons.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 439: from Children's Number of *Shanker's Weekly*, New Delhi, December 3, 1949.

POLITICIANS AND NEWSPAPERMEN ARE ALIKE

To some extent, politicians and newspapermen or journalists have much in common. Both presume to talk too much, to

write too much, to deliver homilies; both, generally speaking, require no qualifications at all for their job.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 471: from speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, September 17, 1952.

THE ART OF THINKING DISAPPEARING SLOWLY

Of the dominating features of the age we live in, one of the most noticeable is that people are gradually losing the art of thinking. They often take other people's opinions for granted. They are regimented, not only in states that are called totalitarian but in other countries also, by the conditions they live in. They are not allowed to think, and the person who does not fit in with the majority opinion, has a very unfortunate time of it. There is no law against him but the facts are against him. In this matter the newspapers can perform a very valuable service, although newspapers inevitably have become more like pocket digests than something that will enable people to think. I do not know how far it is possible to get out of the difficulty but it is dangerous for people to think less and less, and to be flooded by pocket magazines or newspapers instead of really worthwhile books. Newspapers have their place but newspapers do not often help one to think.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 456-7: from speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, August 13, 1954.

I AM A BETTER JUDGE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE THAN NEWSPAPER EDITORS

I claim to be a judge of the Indian people and I claim to be a better judge of them than any editor in India. I tell you I know them better because—it is rather a foolish way of saying it—I am intensely in love with them, because I have approached them with affection, because they have been most generous, extravagantly generous in their affection for me, and I have the highest opinion of the Indian people. I think it is degrading to them to imagine that they require

sensationalism of the type that appeals to the palate or excites passions. Of course, they are not angels. All of us have our faults. We have our evil side and our good side. But I am quite sure that there is a very great deal of the good side in the Indian people, and if we appeal to it we shall always get the right response. If our newspapers keep this in view and appeal to the good side, they will help in the emotional integration of India. They will thus do a great service. Let us think not only of our past common heritage, but of the India we are building up which will also be a common heritage of all of us. I would submit to the editors that through this service to the people, they will ultimately be serving themselves also.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 456: from speech at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, New Delhi, August 13, 1954.

Life and Letters

LIFE A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE

Life is a continuous struggle of man against man, of man against his surroundings, a struggle on the physical, intellectual and moral plane out of which new things take shape and fresh ideas are born. Destruction and construction go side by side and both aspects of man and nature are evident. Life is a principle of growth, not of standing still, a continuous becoming which does not permit of static conditions.

Today in the world of politics and economics there is a search for power and yet when power is attained much else of value has gone. Political trickery and intrigue take the place of idealism, and cowardice and selfishness the place of disinterested courage. Form prevails over substance, and power, so eagerly sought after, somehow fails to achieve what it aimed at. For power has its limitations, and force recoils on itself. Neither can control the spirit, though they may harden and coarsen it. 'You can rob an army of its general', says Confucius, 'but not the least of men his will'.

The Discovery of India, p. 683.

THERE SEEMS NO WAY OUT

Sometimes the injustice, the unhappiness, the brutality of the world oppress us and darken our minds, and we see no way out. With Matthew Arnold, we feel that there is no hope in the world and that all we can do is to be true to one another.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 746.

HAD I A PART TO PLAY IN WORLD HISTORY ?

In thinking over the troubles and conflicts of the world, I forgot to some extent my own personal and national troubles.

I would even feel buoyant occasionally at the fact that I was alive at this great revolutionary period of the world's history. Perhaps I might have also to play some little part in my own corner of the world in the great changes that were to come. At other times I would find the atmosphere of conflict and violence all over the world very depressing. Worse still was the sight of intelligent men and women who had become so accustomed to human degradation and slavery that their minds were too coarsened to resent suffering and poverty and inhumanity. Noisy vulgarity and organized humbug flourished in this stifling moral atmosphere, and good men were silent. The triumph of Hitler and the Brown Terror that followed was a great shock, though I consoled myself that it could only be temporary. Almost one had the feeling of the futility of human endeavour. The machine went on blindly, what could a little cog in it do?

Autobiography, pp. 363-4.

A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL MARKS THE
PRESENT DAY

We live in a period of tremendous potential conflict and every nation begins to think more and more in terms of survival. When people think in terms of survival, it means that they are conditioned by great fear and when the desire for survival asserts itself, then logical thinking and the reasoning faculties do not even function. Human beings forget their humanity, because they are just fighting to escape some dreadful terror, struggling to survive and they do not care what happens or what they do in order to survive. This applies to individuals as well as to nations. This struggle for survival, which brings out the worst in humanity, is a dreadful prospect. If humanity continues to think in terms of encompassing fear and of mere survival, then fear itself will inevitably bring out all the inhuman instincts. When the real struggle for survival comes, few may survive, and, possibly, those who survive will not be human.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 375-6: from Address at the UNESCO National Indian Commission, New Delhi, March 24, 1951.

THE PAGAN VIEW OF LIFE

It seems to me that people in Buddha's time were more advanced in tolerance and compassion than we are, although they were not so advanced in technology and science. While I was at Nalanda it struck me that quite apart from the religious issues there might be something worthwhile in the pagan view of life, because it is a tolerant view of life. While it may hold one opinion it respects the opinions of the others and allows that there may be truth in the others' opinions too. It looks at the universe and the mysteries of the universe and tries to fathom them in a spirit of humility. It realizes that truth is too big to be grasped at once, that however much one may know there is always much else to be known, and that it is possible that others may possess a part of that truth; and so, while the pagan view of life worships its own gods, it also does honour to unknown gods.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 433: from speech at the Indian Science Congress, Calcutta, January 14, 1957.

A NEW AGE HAS DAWNED

We have suddenly emerged into a new age. Of course, every age is a new age, but, I suppose, it is correct to say that this age of ours is especially so; and the symbol of the age is the atom bomb or atomic energy, if you like, but it is well to remember that today atomic energy is thought of in terms of atom bombs only. And if the atom bomb is the symbol of this age, then everything is conditioned by that symbol—man's thinking, man's fears and everything else.

We seem to live under this shadow. Are we, with the very proud and magnificent edifice of our civilization, nearing the afternoon or evening of this civilization? Have we lost the creative spirit? Have we lost the energy and faith that go with the dawn of civilizations? Can we recapture that spirit of the dawn in this afternoon and convert it into something other than what it is today or is it inevitable that the afternoon will be followed by the evening and then by the shades of night? I do not know but my mind struggles with this problem. It also struggles with the smaller problems

of the day, for we cannot ignore them. The problem of our civilization, however, is the major question mark of the day. *Speeches* (1949-53), pp. 372-3: from Address at the UNESCO Indian National Commission, New Delhi, March 24, 1951.

MAGIC OF PERSONALITY

There is no magic in this world except the occasional magic of human personality and the human mind.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 476: from Address at the Second Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi, October 23, 1955.

KARMA

The individual and the national group fashion their own destiny by their own actions; these past actions lead to the present and what they do today forms the basis of their tomorrows. *Karma*, they have called this in India, the law of cause and effect, the destiny which our past activities create for us. It is not an invariable destiny and many other factors go to influence it, and the individual's will is itself supposed to have some play. If this freedom to vary the result of past action were not present, then indeed would we all be mere robots in the grip of an unavoidable fate. Yet that past *Karma* is a powerful factor in shaping the individual and the nation, and nationalism itself is a shadow of it with all its good and bad memories of the past.

The Discovery of India, pp. 638-9.

ARE WE MERE PUPPETS OF DESTINY

I took up yet another book, George Buchner's famous play, 'Danton's Tod' or 'Danton's Death', translated into English. Written over a hundred years ago, it took me back to the wild and stirring days of the French Revolution, and my mind rushed backwards and forwards from that Revolution to the mighty one on whose threshold we stand today. Buchner's words, written to his fiancée, stood up before me, of how he was impressed by the elemental and historic urge

behind the Revolution. 'I have been studying the history of the Revolution. I felt as if annihilated by the terrible fatalism of history. I see in men's nature a horrible uniformity, in human relations an unavoidable violence, exercised by all and by none. The individual only foam on the wave, greatness a mere accident, the mastery of genius a puppet play, a ridiculous struggle against an iron law, to understand which is the highest that can be achieved, to rule it impossible. . . . The "must" is one of the curses with which man is baptized. The saying: it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh—is horrible. What is it in us that lies, murders, steals?'

Is it so? Are we mere puppets of destiny, mere foam on the surface of the waters? A hundred years have gone by since Buchner wrote, a hundred years of vast human achievement and of man's conquest over the elements. And yet he has not brought under control the passions that consume him, or the elemental urges that move him as an individual or in the mass. And we go from tragedy to tragedy. And the tragedy of many an individual, as of Danton, is that he is left behind by the processes of history; he has no function to perform; no longer is he the agent of destiny. And so because his moment is passed, he cannot act; he can only protest and bemoan his lot, and weakness comes over him and consciousness of his approaching doom.

The Unity of India, pp. 218-19.

MODERN WORLD NOT IN TUNE WITH LIFE OF THE MIND

Now, one of my chief difficulties is this: somehow it seems to me that the modern world is getting completely out of tune with what I might call the life of the mind—I am leaving out the life of the spirit at the moment. Yet, the modern world is entirely the outcome of the life of the mind. After all, it is the human mind that has produced everything that we see around us and feel around us. Civilization is the product of the human mind and yet, strangely enough, one begins to feel that the function of the mind becomes less and less important in the modern world, or, at any rate, is no longer so important as it used to be. The mind may count

for a great deal in specialized domains; it does and so we make great progress in those specialized domains of life but, generally speaking, the mind as a whole counts for less and less. That is my impression. If it is a correct impression, then there is something radically wrong with the civilization that we are building or have built. The changes that are so rapidly taking place emphasize other aspects of life and somehow prevent the mind from functioning as it should and as perhaps it used to do in the earlier periods of the world's history. If that is true, then surely it is not a good outlook for the world, because the very basis on which our civilization has grown, on which man has risen step by step to the great heights on which he stands today, the very foundation of that edifice, is shaken.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 382: from address at the UNESCO Symposium, New Delhi, December 20, 1951.

MODERN CIVILIZED LIFE IS ARTIFICIAL

It would seem that the kind of modern civilization that developed first in the West and spread elsewhere, and especially the metropolitan life that has been its chief feature, produce an unstable society which gradually loses its vitality. Life advances in many fields and yet it loses its grip; it becomes more artificial and slowly ebbs away. More and more stimulants are needed—drugs to enable us to sleep or to perform our other natural functions, foods and drinks that tickle the palate and produce a momentary exhilaration at the cost of weakening the system, and special devices to give us a temporary sensation of pleasure and excitement—and after the stimulation comes the reaction and a sense of emptiness. With all its splendid manifestations and real achievements, we have created a civilization which has something counterfeit about it. We eat ersatz foods produced with the help of ersatz fertilizers; we indulge in ersatz emotions, and our human relations seldom go below the superficial plane. The advertiser is one of the symbols of our age with his continuous and raucous attempts to delude us and dull our powers of perception and induce us to buy unnecessary and even harmful products. I am not blaming

others for this state of affairs. We are all products of this age with the characteristics of our generation, equally entitled to credit or blame. Certainly I am as much a part of this civilization, that I both appreciate and criticize, as any one else, and my habits and ways of thought are conditioned by it.

The Discovery of India, p. 676.

PRESENT DAY LIFE BETRAYS BOREDOM

Laxity and indulgence flourish in a wealthy leisure class which has little to do and takes to sex to escape from *ennui* and boredom.

Soviet Russia, p. 123.

LIFE AN ORGANIC WHOLE

Life is an organic whole and it cannot be separated into water-tight compartments.

The Unity of India, p. 176.

THE UNITY OF LIFE

The human mind appears to have a passion for finding out some kind of unity in life, in nature and the universe. That desire, whether it is justified or not, must fulfil some essential need of the mind. The old philosophers were ever seeking this, and even modern scientists are impelled by this urge. All our schemes and planning, our ideas of education and social and political organization, have at their back the search for unity and harmony. We are told now by some able thinkers and philosophers that this basic conception is false and there is no such thing as order or unity in this accidental universe. That may be so, but there can be little doubt that even this mistaken belief, if such it was, and the search for unity in India, Greece and elsewhere yielded positive results and produced a harmony, a balance and a richness in life.

The Discovery of India, p. 172.

FAITH

No man can build or construct anything beautiful unless he has faith.

Independence and After, p. 391: from speech at Annual Meeting of Central Board of Irrigation, New Delhi, December 5, 1948.

INDIAN SCHOLARS MUST MAKE UP LOST TIME

The hard discipline, reverent approach and insight of the English translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible, not only produced a noble book, but gave to the English language strength and dignity. Generations of European scholars and poets have laboured lovingly over Greek and Latin classics and produced fine translations in various European languages. And so even common folk can share to some extent in those cultures and, in their drab lives, have glimpses of truth and loveliness. Unfortunately this work has yet to be done with the Sanskrit classics. When it will be done, or whether it will be done at all, I do not know. Our scholars grow in numbers and grow in scholarship and we have our poets too; but between the two there is a wide and ever-growing gap. Our creative tendencies are turned in a different direction, and the many demands that the world of today makes upon us hardly give us time for the leisured study of the classics. Especially in India we have to look another way and make up for long lost time; we have been too much immersed in the classics in the past, and because we lost our own creative instincts, we ceased to be inspired even by those classics which we claimed to cherish so much. Translations, I suppose, from the Indian classics, will continue to appear and scholars will see to it that the Sanskrit words and names are properly spelt and have all the necessary diacritical marks, and there are plenty of notes and explanations and comparisons; there will be everything, in fact, literally and conscientiously rendered, only the living spirit will be missing. What was a thing of life and joy, so lovely and musical and full of imaginative daring, will become old and flat and stale, with neither youth nor

beauty, but with only the dust of the scholar's study and the smell of midnight oil.

The Discovery of India, pp. 184-5.

A LIVING LANGUAGE

A living language is a throbbing, vital thing, ever changing, ever growing and mirroring the people who speak and write. It has its roots in the masses, though its superstructure may represent the culture of a few. How, then, can we change it or shape it to our liking by resolutions or orders from above? And yet I find this widely prevalent notion that we can force a language to behave in a particular manner if we only will it so. It is true that under modern conditions, with mass education and mass propaganda through the Press, printed books, cinema and the radio, a language can be varied much more rapidly than in past times. And yet the variation is but the mirror of the rapid changes taking place among the people who use it. If a language loses touch with the people, it loses its vitality and becomes an artificial, lifeless thing instead of the thing of life and strength and joy that it should be. Attempts to force the growth of a language in a particular direction are likely to end in distorting it and crushing its spirit.

The Unity of India, pp. 242-3.

LANGUAGE IS THE VEHICLE OF THOUGHT

A language is something infinitely greater than grammar and philology. It is the poetic testament of the genius of a race and a culture, and the living embodiment of the thoughts and fancies that have moulded them. Words change their meanings from age to age and old ideas transform themselves into new, often keeping their old attire. It is difficult to capture the meaning, much less the spirit, of an old word or phrase. Some kind of a romantic and poetical approach is necessary if we are to have a glimpse into that old meaning and into the minds of those who used the language in former days. The richer and more abundant the language, the greater the difficulty.

The Discovery of India, p. 183.

A LANGUAGE GROWS SPONTANEOUSLY

A language ultimately grows from the people; it is seldom that it can be imposed. Any attempt to impose a particular form of language on an unwilling people has usually met with the strongest opposition and had actually resulted in something the very reverse of what the promoters thought. I would beg this House to consider the fact and to realize, if it agrees with me, that the surest way of developing a natural all-India language is not so much to pass resolutions and laws on the subject, but to work to that end in other ways.

Independence and After, pp. 380-1: from speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, November 8, 1948.

PRESENT DAY WRITERS SHOULD REFLECT THE SPUTNIK AGE

Writers should reflect the thinking of the present age of sputniks and outer space in their writings to lift the people from thinking in the narrower fields of State boundaries or language rivalries. In India there is the problem of languages. It is no good to have a controversy over language. Languages might be different but basic thinking is one. That is a far more important factor. The thing that is important is that there should be friendliness between the languages of India. PEN had to bring about this friendliness. That was its main purpose . . .

Literary works should reflect present day life and problems. Life is gradually becoming more and more technical and scientific. The languages consisted of more and more technological terms. It is said that to the English language about 5,000 words are added annually. I am glad to say that there is a general understanding that in regard to all technical and scientific words we should have words approximating to international expressions. I have no doubt that the Indian languages will absorb these words easily and not attempt the coining of new words. What need is there for trying to coin a new word for the expression 'bicycle'? I think, if we advance in this way, adapting some common

phrases and terms, many controversies will not arise.

We seem to be at the end of a world and we are no longer earthbound and, may be, we enter outer space. We have sputniks and such other things. As such we should no longer be narrow-minded and think of this 'Pradesh' and that 'Pradesh'. In the 'new world' that is developing, the whole globe is a small place, what to talk of a 'Pradesh' or a country. We should, therefore, be broadminded and have a wider outlook.

The Hindu, dated 2nd January, 1959: from Inaugural Address at PEN Conference at Bhubaneshwar, January 1, 1959.

THE PLACE OF ENGLISH

I laid great stress in my speech on the necessity of a considerable number of our people knowing foreign languages, more especially English. This was in relation to our development programmes and our Second and subsequent Five-Year Plans. I pointed out that it would not be possible for us to go ahead with these plans unless there was a high standard of technical and scientific education and that this standard could not be obtained at this stage without a full knowledge of at least one foreign language. As a matter of fact, scientists in any country today have to acquire knowledge of several languages in order to keep abreast of scientific literature . . .

My positive stress was on a foreign language being learnt adequately. In the circumstances in India, this foreign language would inevitably be English, though I hope that other languages such as French, German, Spanish, Russian and Chinese would also be learnt. English today is by far the most widespread and important world language and probably two-thirds of the scientific and technical books in the world are published in English . . .

I fear that many of our people have little conception of the world we live in—this world of automation and atomic energy. We are living through a period of revolution and we have to face a struggle for survival for our country and not merely for achieving a somewhat higher standard. We go down if we cannot keep pace with these technological

developments and indeed try to go ahead of other countries . . .

But there are other aspects. One, I have mentioned above, about the necessity of knowing English or any other foreign language for scientific and technological purposes. Also, if I may say so with all respect, we are a narrow-minded people and are apt to live in our own shells. There is the danger of our getting cut off from the world of thought in all its aspects and becoming complacent in our own little world of India. For this reason also contacts with foreign languages are essential.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 422-6: from a Statement made on September 8, 1956.

THE WEALTH AND VARIETY OF LIFE

Life is rich and varied, and though it has many swamps and marshes and muddy places, it has also the great sea, and the mountains, and snow and glaciers, and wonderful starlit nights, and the love of family and friends, and the comradeship of workers in a common cause, and music, and books, and the empire of ideas. So that each one of us may well say:

‘Lord, though I lived on earth, the child of earth,
Yet was I fathered by the starry sky.’

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 1503.

THE STREAM OF LIFE

The stream of life goes on in spite of famine and war, full of its inherent contradictions and finding sustenance even in those contradictions and the disasters that follow in their train. Nature renews itself and covers yesterday's battlefield with flowers and green grass, and the blood that was shed feeds the soil and gives strength and colour to new life. Human beings with their unique quality of possessing memory live in their storied and remembered pasts and seldom catch up to the present in ‘The worlde that neweth every daie’. And that present slips into the past before we are hardly aware of it; today, child of yesterday, yields place to its own offspring, tomorrow. Winged victory ends in a

welter of blood and mud; and out of the heavy trials of seeming defeat the spirit emerges with new strength and wider vision. The weak in spirit yield and are eliminated, but others carry the torch forward and hand it to the standard-bearers of tomorrow.

The Discovery of India, pp. 607-8.

Work

NO MAN DIED OF HARD WORK IN A GOOD CAUSE

There is a time for work and there is a time for play, just as there is a time for laughter and there is a time for tears. And today is the time for work in this nation. For, this generation of ours, if I may say so, is condemned to hard labour. You cannot get out of it, however you may want to. We are all condemned to hard labour. But, then, it makes all the difference what kind of labour we do, in what spirit we approach it. If it is labour, good work, then that is an uplifting thing. It does not matter how hard you work. People come and tell me, do not work so hard, you do not sleep enough. As if that counts! What counts is something entirely different. No man ever died of hard work, if he is working in a good cause, if his spirit is in it, but people do die of *ennui* and other things. So you and I have got to work.

Independence and After, p. 128: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

NOBILITY OF WORK

Some foolish people imagine that it is degrading to have to work for one's living!

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 845.

UNEMPLOYMENT A CURSE

Unemployment is the bane of a nation.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 64: from speech at the inauguration of the Harijan Convention, Wardha, November 1, 1952.

THE TEST OF A MAN'S WORTH

It is a wrong way to assess a man's worth by the salary

drawn by him or the designation attached to his post. Such a notion does not appeal to me because, as you know, I entered the administration at quite an advanced age. Whatever I learnt about a man's worth had nothing to do with his salary, with his dress or with his house. All my life I have gauged people from altogether a different angle, and I still believe in the same method. It is possible that I may consider a peon with more pride and respect than his own officer, and I do not see any flaw in it. Essentially, respect is due for work and not for the salary drawn. A man may be a famous poet, but his income may be meagre; still, he should and will be respected much more than officers drawing high salaries. In short, the idea of money being the yardstick for assessing a man's worth has clouded the issue and created confusion. The practice of grading people according to their status in official capacity should go.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 119-20: from inaugural address at the annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, October 26, 1953.

INDIANS LOOK DOWN ON MANUAL LABOUR

We have got to change our mentality. At present we are apt to look down on manual labour and that tendency is responsible for our present plight. There are two kinds of unemployment in our country—there are people who do not find work and there are those who are not willing to work. During my recent tour of Assam I came across a young girl, who was carrying a load of firewood on her head. I stopped and spoke to her. I was surprised because she spoke perfect English. She had been educated in England. Her parents had lost their all in Pakistan and were reduced to penury. In spite of her background she did not hesitate to do manual work. The most important thing is the will to work. The prosperity of a nation is judged by the number of people who are employed.

Independence and After, p. 152: from speech at Industries Conference, New Delhi, December 18, 1947.

A SEAT OF AUTHORITY IS THE WORST
PUNISHMENT FOR AN INDIAN TODAY

The hardest sentence you can give to any individual today in India is to put him in a seat of authority.

Independence and After, p. 128: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Lucknow University, January 28, 1949.

NO IMAGINATION IN OUR WORK

It is sad that imagination counts for so little today and we work in grooves.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 68: from speech at the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, November 17, 1952.

GREAT TASKS SUCCEED WHEN TIME IS
FAVOURABLE

No man can succeed in great tasks unless the time is ripe and the atmosphere is favourable.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. I, p. 482.

PRIDE IN WORK

You are young. I should like you to have the pride of youth and the ambition of youth to do something worthwhile and big. All of you may not be geniuses, but some of you might yet do worthwhile things in some department of human activity or other. I do not like people who have no pride and ambition and are just sloppy people.

I am not using the words pride and ambition in a small personal sense. I do not mean the pride of getting money, which is the silliest of all types of pride. Pride should consist in doing your job in the best possible manner. If you are a scientist, think of becoming an Einstein, not merely a reader in your University. If you are a medical man, think of some discovery which will bring healing to the human race. If you are an engineer, aim at some new invention.

The mere act of aiming at something big makes you big.
Speeches (1953-57), p. 476: from address at the
Inter-University Youth Festival, New Delhi,
October 23, 1955.

‘WORK IS WORSHIP’

These days the biggest temple and mosque and *gurdwara*
is the place where man works for the good of mankind.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 3: from speech at the
opening of the Nangal Canal, July 8, 1954.

URGE TO ACTION

This urge to action, this desire to experience life through
action, has influenced all my thought and activity. Even
sustained thinking, apart from being itself a kind of action,
becomes part of the action to come. It is not something en-
tirely abstract, in the void, unrelated to action and life. The
past becomes something that leads up to the present, the
moment of action, the future something that flows from it;
and all three are inextricably intertwined and interrelated.

The Discovery of India, p. 10.

I AM THE FIRST SERVANT OF INDIA

They call me the Prime Minister of India, but it would be
more appropriate if I were called the first servant of India.
In this age, it is not titles and position that matter but
service.

Independence and After, pp. 362-3: from a
broadcast inaugurating the New Forces Pro-
gramme of the All-India Radio, New Delhi,
December 1, 1947.

THE GOSPEL OF WORK IS ENSHRINED IN THE GITA

The *Gita* says, work we must for results, but not to care too
much about results. It really means, to work but not to be
so utterly attached to the results that they upset one. In

other words, to have a certain detachment even in the midst of action. How far this is possible I do not know. Personally, I am not a very detached person. Occasionally I get excited. Yet apart from these moments of excitement, I can detach myself. From the purely physical or mental point of view that may be a good thing. It helps in maintaining one's composure and one's mental and physical health.

Conversations with Mr. Nehru, p. 144.

Men and Women¹

MAHATMA GANDHI

For it was clear that this little man of poor physique had something of steel in him, something rock-like which did not yield to physical powers, however great they might be. And in spite of his unimpressive features, his loin-cloth and bare body, there was a royalty and a kingliness in him which compelled a willing obeisance from others. Consciously and deliberately meek and humble, yet he was full of power and authority, and he knew it, and at times he was imperious enough, issuing commands which had to be obeyed. His calm, deep eyes would hold one and gently probe into the depths; his voice, clear and limpid, would purr its way into the heart and evoke an emotional response. Whether his audience consisted of one person or a thousand, the charm and magnetism of the man passed on to it, and each one had a feeling of communion with the speaker. This feeling had little to do with the mind, though the appeal to the mind was not wholly ignored. But mind and reason had definitely second place. This process of 'spell-binding' was not brought about by oratory or the hypnotism of silken phrases. The language was always simple and to the point and seldom was an unnecessary word used. It was the utter sincerity of the man and his personality that gripped; he gave the impression of tremendous inner reserves of power. Perhaps also it was a tradition that had grown up about him which helped in creating a suitable atmosphere. A stranger, ignorant of this tradition and not in harmony with the surroundings, would probably not have been touched by that spell, or, at any rate, not to the same extent. And yet one of the most remarkable things about Gandhiji was, and is, his capacity to win over, or at least to disarm, his opponents.

Autobiography, pp. 129-30.

¹ *Note.* For further details about some of the people mentioned in this section, see pp. 263-67 Notes on Personalities.

And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breaths, like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes, like a whirlwind that upset many things but most of all the working of people's minds. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and incessantly drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get off the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system that produces this poverty and misery. Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. Much that he said we only partially accepted or did not accept at all. But all this was necessary. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth and action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view. The greatest gift for an individual or a nation, so we had been told in our ancient books, was *abhaya*, fearlessness, not merely bodily courage but the absence of fear from the mind. Janaka and Yajnavalka had said, at the dawn of our history, that it was the function of the leaders of a people to make them fearless. But the dominant impulse in India under British rule was that of fear, pervasive, oppressing, strangling fear; fear of the army, the police, the widespread secret service; fear of the official class; fears of laws meant to suppress and of prison; fear of the land-lord's agent; fear of the moneylender; fear of unemployment and starvation, which were always on the threshold. It was against this all pervading fear that Gandhi's quiet and determined voice was raised: Be not afraid.

The Discovery of India, p. 427.

Wherever he sat became a temple and where he trod became hallowed ground.

He taught us the way of fearlessness, of unity, of tolerance and peace.

He was, perhaps, the greatest symbol of the India of the past, and may I say, of the India of the future, that we could have had.

He became a great internationalist, believing in the essential unity of man, the underlying unity of all religions, and the needs of humanity, and more especially devoting himself to the service of the poor, the distressed and the oppressed everywhere.

He shone like a beacon not only for India but for the whole world.

In a dissolving world Mahatma Gandhi has been like a rock of purpose and a lighthouse of truth.

That light represented something more than the immediate present, it represented the living, the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom.

He was the Victorious One in life and in death.

Independence and After, pp. 30, 35, 22, 29, 24, 116, 17 and 27: from speeches made on various occasions.

THE DEATH OF MAHATMA GANDHI

Even in his death there was a magnificence and complete artistry. It was from every point of view a fitting climax to the man and to the life he had lived. He died in the fulness of his powers and as he would no doubt have liked to die, at the moment of prayer. He died a martyr to the cause of unity to which he had always been devoted and for which he had worked unceasingly, more specially during the past year or more. He died suddenly as all men should wish to die. There was no fading of the body or a long illness or the forgetfulness of the mind that comes with age. Why then should we grieve for him? Our memories of him will be of the Master, whose step was light to the end, whose smile was infectious and whose eyes were full of laughter. We shall associate no failing powers with him of body or of mind. He lived and he died at the top of his strength and powers, leaving a picture in our minds and in

the mind of the age that we live in that can never fade away.

That picture will not fade. But he did something much more than that, for he entered into the very stuff of our minds and spirits and changed them and moulded them. The Gandhi generation will pass away, but that stuff will remain and will affect each succeeding generation, for it has become a part of India's spirit. Just when we were growing poor in spirit in this country, Bapu came to enrich us and make us strong, and the strength he gave us was not for a moment or a day or a year but it was something added on to our national inheritance.

Nehru on Gandhi, pp. 159-60.

MOTILAL NEHRU

How different was my father from him! But in him too there was strength of personality and a measure of kingliness, and the lines of Swinburne he had quoted would apply to him also. In any gathering in which he was present he would inevitably be the centre and the hub. Whatever the place he sat at table it would become, as an eminent English judge said later, the head of the table. He was neither meek nor mild, and, again, unlike Gandhiji, he seldom spared those who differed from him. Consciously imperious he evoked great loyalty as well as bitter opposition. It was difficult to feel neutral about him; one had to like him or dislike him. With a broad forehead, tight lips and a determined chin, he had a marked resemblance to the busts of the Roman Emperors in the museums in Italy. Many friends in Italy who saw his photograph with us remarked on this resemblance. In later years especially, when his head was covered with silver hair—unlike me, he kept his hair to the end—there was a magnificence about him and a grand manner, which is sadly to seek in this world today. I suppose I am partial to him, but I miss his noble presence in a world full of pettiness and weakness. I look round in vain for that grand manner and splendid strength that was his.

Autobiography, p. 130.

Shankara was a man of amazing energy and vast activity. He was no escapist retiring into his shell or into a corner of the forest, seeking his own individual perfection and oblivious of what happened to others. Born in Malabar in the far south of India, he travelled incessantly all over India, meeting innumerable people, arguing, debating, reasoning, convincing, and filling them with a part of his own passion and tremendous vitality. He was evidently a man who was intensely conscious of his mission, a man who looked upon the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas as his field of action and as something that held together culturally and was infused by the same spirit, though this might take many external forms. He strove hard to synthesize the diverse currents that were troubling the mind of India of his day and to build a unity of outlook of that diversity. In a brief life of thirty-two years he did the work of many long lives and left such an impress of his powerful mind and rich personality on India that it is very evident today. He was a curious mixture of a philosopher and a scholar, an agnostic and a mystic, a poet and a saint, and in addition to all this, a practical reformer and an able organizer. He built up, for the first time within the Brahmanical fold, ten religious orders and of these four are very much alive today. He established four great *maths* or monasteries, locating them far from each other, almost at the four corners of India. One of these was in the south at Sringeri in Mysore, another at Puri on the east coast, the third at Dvaraka in Kathiawad on the West coast, and the fourth at Badrinath in the heart of the Himalayas. At the age of thirty-two this Brahmin from the tropical South died at Kedarnath in the upper snow-covered reaches of the Himalayas.

It would seem that Shankara wanted to add to this sense of national unity and common consciousness. He functioned on the intellectual, philosophical and religious plane and tried to bring about a greater unity of thought all over the country. He functioned also on the popular plane in many ways, destroying many a dogma and opening the door of his philosophic sanctuary to every one who was capable of entering it. By locating his four great monasteries in the

north, south, east and west of India, he evidently wanted to encourage the conception of a culturally united India. These four places had partly been even previously, and now become more so, places of pilgrimage from all parts of the country.

The Discovery of India, pp. 214-16.

SIR M. VISVESVARAYYA

I have come back to this organization (the All-India Manufacturers' Organization) after a number of years. So far as I can remember, I was first attracted to it for a variety of reasons, among them being the dominating presence in this organization of Shri Visvesvarayya, and I should like to pay a tribute right at the commencement today to this grand old man of India. I am amazed and inspired by his vitality, by his deep interest, even at his fairly advanced age, in the industrial and economic development of India. He writes to me from time to time and indicates his impatience at the slowness of progress and sometimes thinks that our Planning Commission would do much better if it followed his advice more closely than it has done.

Speeches (1953-57), p. 83: from Address to the Conference of All-India Manufacturers' Organization, New Delhi, April 14, 1956.

KALIDASA

Kalidasa is acknowledged to be the greatest poet and dramatist of Sanskrit Literature. He was among the fortunate whom life treated as a cherished son and who experienced its beauty and tenderness more than its harsh and rough edges. His writings betray this love of life and a passion for nature's beauty.

One of Kalidasa's long poems is the *Meghaduta*, the Cloud Messenger. A lover, made captive and separated from his beloved, asked a cloud, during the rainy season, to carry his message of desperate longing to her. To this poem and to Kalidasa, the American scholar Ryder has paid a splendid tribute. He refers to the two parts of the poem and says: 'The former half is descriptive of external nature, yet interwoven

with human feeling; the latter half is a picture of a human heart, yet the picture is framed in natural beauty. So exquisitely is the thing done that none can say which half is superior. Of those who read this perfect poem in the original text, some are moved by the one, some by the other. Kalidasa understood in the fifth century what Europe did not learn until the nineteenth, and even now comprehends only imperfectly, that the world was not made for man, that man reaches his full stature only as he realises the dignity and worth of life that is not human. That Kalidasa seized this truth is a magnificent tribute to his intellectual power, a quality quite as necessary to great poetry as perfection of form. Poetical fluency is not rare; intellectual grasp is not very uncommon; but the combination has not been found perhaps more than a dozen times since the world began. Because he possessed this harmonious combination, Kalidasa ranks not with Anacreon and Horace and Shelley but with Sophocles, Virgil, Milton.'

The Discovery of India, pp. 175-6.

C. R. DAS

During this period there grew up a close friendship between my father and Mr. C. R. Das. It was something much more than political *camaraderie*. There was a warmth and intimacy in it that I was not a little surprised to notice, since intimate friendships are perhaps rarely formed at advanced ages. My father had a host of acquaintances, and had the gift of laughing his way through them, but he was chary of friendship, and in later years he had grown rather cynical. And yet between him and Deshabandhu the barriers seemed to fall, and they took each other to heart. My father was nine years older, but was, physically, probably the stronger and the healthier of the two. Though both had the same background of legal training and success at the bar, they differed in many ways. Mr. Das, in spite of being a lawyer, was a poet and had a poet's emotional outlook—I believe he has written fine poetry in Bengali. He was an orator and he had a religious temperament. My father was more practical and prosaic; he was a great organizer, and he had little of religion in him. He had always been a fighter, ready to receive and give hard

blows. Those whom he considered fools he suffered not at all, or at any rate not gladly; and opposition he could not tolerate. It seemed to him a challenge requiring the use of a broom. The two, my father and Deshabandhu, unlike in some ways as they were, fitted in and made a remarkable and effective combination for the leadership of a party, each in some measure supplying the other's deficiencies. And between the two of them there was absolute confidence, so much so that each had authorized the other to use his name for any statement or declaration, even without previous reference or consultation.

Autobiography, pp. 104-5.

RANI LAKSHMI BAI OF JHANSI

In the midst of the horrors of the Revolt (the Great Indian Mutiny) and its suppression, one name stands out, a bright spot in a dark ground. This is the name of Lakshmi Bai, Rani of Jhansi, a girl-widow, twenty years of age, who donned a man's dress and came out to lead her people against the British. Many a story is told of her spirit and ability and undaunted courage. Even the English general who opposed her has called her 'the best and bravest' of the rebel leaders. She died while fighting.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, pp. 648-9.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

The head of both the Relief Committee and the Bihar Congress organization was Rajendra Babu, the unquestioned leader of Bihar. Looking like a peasant, a typical son of the soil of Bihar, he is not impressive at first sight till one notices his keen frank eyes and his earnest look. One does not forget that look or those eyes, for through them truth looks at you and there is no doubting them. Peasant-like, he is perhaps a little limited in outlook, somewhat unsophisticated from the point of view of the modern world, but his outstanding ability, his perfect straightness, his energy and his devotion to the cause of Indian freedom are qualities which have made him loved not only in his own province but throughout India. No one in any province in India occupies quite that universally acknowledged position of leadership as Rajen Babu. Few

others, if any, can be said to have imbibed more thoroughly the message of Gandhiji.

Autobiography, p. 489.

SARAJINI NAIDU

Here was a person of great brilliance. Here was a person, vital and vivid. Here was a person with so many gifts, but above all with some gifts which made her unique. She began life as a poetess. In later years, when the compulsion of events drew her into the national struggle and she threw herself into it with all the zest and fire she possessed, she did not write much poetry with pen and paper, but her whole life became a poem and a song. And she did that amazing thing; she infused artistry and poetry into our national struggle. Just as the Father of the Nation had infused moral grandeur and greatness into the struggle, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave it artistry and poetry and that zest for life and that indomitable spirit which not only faced disaster and catastrophe, but faced them with a light heart and with a song on her lips and a smile on her face. Now, I do not think, being myself a politician which most of us are, that hardly any other gift was more valuable to our national life than this lifting it out of the plane of pure politics to a higher artistic sphere, which she succeeded in doing in some measure.

Looking back upon her life, one sees an astonishing combination of gifts. One, here is a life full of vitality; one, here are fifty years of existence—not merely existence, but a vital, dynamic existence—touching many aspects of our life, cultural and political. And whatever she touched, she infused with something of her fire. She was indeed a pillar of fire. And then again, she was like cool running water, soothing and uplifting and bringing down the passion of her politics to the cooler levels of human beings. So it is difficult for one to speak about her except that one realizes that here was a magnificence of spirit and it is gone . . .

I said she was a curious combination of so many things; she represented in herself a rich culture into which flowed various currents which have made Indian culture as great as it is. She herself was a composite both of various currents of culture in India as well as various currents of culture both in

the East and the West. And so she was, while being a very great national figure, also truly an internationalist, and wherever she might go in the wide world she was recognized as such and as one of the great ones of the earth.

She stood more than any single person in India for the unity of India in all its phases, for the unity of its cultural content, the unity of its geographical areas. It was a passion with her. It was the very texture of her life. It is well to remember when we sometimes fall into narrower grooves, that greatness has never come from the narrowness of mind, or again, greatness for a nation as for an individual comes from a wide vision, a wide perspective, an inclusive outlook and a human approach to life. So she became an interpreter in India of the many great things that the West had produced, and she became an interpreter in other parts of India of India's rich culture. She became the ideal ambassador and the ideal link between the East and the West, and between the various parts and groups in India.

Independence and After, pp. 399-402: from a commemorative speech at the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi, March 3, 1949.

M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Jinnah is a lone figure in the Moslem League, keeping apart from his closest co-workers, widely but distantly respected, more feared than liked. About his ability as a politician there is no doubt, but somehow that ability is tied up with the peculiar conditions of British rule in India today. He shines as a lawyer-politician, as a tactician, as one who thinks that he holds the balance of power between nationalist India and the British. If conditions were different and he had to face real problems, political and economic, it is difficult to say how far his ability would carry him. Perhaps he is himself doubtful of this, although he has no small opinion of himself. This may be an explanation for that subconscious urge in him against change and to keep things going as they are, of an avoidance of discussion and calm consideration of problems with people who do not wholly agree with him. He fits into this present pattern; whether he or anybody else will fit into a new pattern it is difficult to say. What passion

moves him, what objectives does he strive for? Or is it that he has no dominating passion except the pleasure he has in playing a fascinating political game of chess in which he often has an opportunity to say 'check'? He seems to have a hatred for the Congress which has grown with the years. His aversions and dislikes are obvious, but what does he like? With all his strength and tenacity, he is a strangely negative person whose appropriate symbol might well be a 'no'. Hence all attempts to understand his positive aspect fail and one cannot come to grips with him.

The Discovery of India, p. 467.

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

Soon after my return from Europe in November I was asked about the Congress Presidentship. Who was going to be President next year? Would I agree to accept office again? I had not given a moment's thought to the matter and was not particularly interested. But I was quite clear in my own mind that I would not stand for re-election. What occupied my mind was not the personality of the President-to-be, but the policy that the Congress should follow, both nationally and internationally. Some time later I had occasion to discuss this matter with Gandhiji. I gave it as my decided opinion that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad would be the right choice for the Presidentship. He seemed to me just to fit in from every point of view. He could carry on the old tradition of the Congress and yet not in any narrow or sectarian way. He had breadth of vision, a deep understanding of events, and round him every section of the Congress would gather and offer co-operation. He represented to me the ideal emblem of united working which I sought, especially at this critical juncture.

The Unity of India, pp. 126-7.

THE MOUNTBATTENS

We have many failings and many weaknesses in India, but when we see friendship for India and service for India, our hearts go out and those who are friends of India and those who serve India are our comrades, whoever they might be or wherever they might be. And so, the people of India, real-

izing that Lord and Lady Mountbatten undoubtedly were friendly to India and the Indian people, undoubtedly were serving them, gave their affection and love. They could not give much else. You may have many gifts and presents, but there is nothing more rare or precious than the love and affection of the people. You have seen yourself, Sir and Madam, how that love and affection work. If I may say so, they are the most precious of gifts.

You came here, Sir, with a high reputation, but many a reputation has foundered in India. You lived here during a period of great difficulty and crisis, and yet your reputation has not foundered. That is a remarkable feat. Many of us who came in contact with you from day to day in these days of crisis learnt much from you, we gathered confidence when sometimes we were rather shaken, and I have no doubt that the many lessons we have learnt from you will endure and will help us in our work in the future.

To you, Madam, I should like to address myself also. The gods or some good fairy gave you beauty and high intelligence, and grace and charm and vitality, great gifts, and she who possesses them is a great lady wherever she goes. But unto those that have, even more shall be given, and they gave you something which was even rarer than those gifts, the human touch, the love of humanity, the urge to serve those who suffer and are in distress, and this amazing mixture of qualities resulted in a radiant personality and in the healer's touch. Wherever you have gone, you have brought solace, you have brought hope and encouragement. Is it surprising, therefore, that the people of India should love you and look up to you as one of themselves and should grieve that you are going? . . .

May I say a word about Pamela Mountbatten? She came straight from school, and possessing all the charm she does, she did a grown-up person's work in the troubled scene of India. I do not know if all of you who are present here know the work she has done, but those who do, know well how splendid that has been and how much it has been appreciated.

Independence and After, pp. 369-71: from a speech at a farewell banquet to Lord and Lady Mountbatten, New Delhi, June 20, 1948.

Mathematics in India inevitably makes one think of one extraordinary figure of recent times. This was Srinivasa Ramanujam. Born in a poor Brahmin family in South India, having no opportunities for a proper education, he became a clerk in the Madras Port Trust. But he was bubbling over with some irrepressible quality of instinctive genius and played about with numbers and equations in his spare time. By a lucky chance he attracted the attention of a mathematician who sent some of his amateur work to Cambridge in England. People there were impressed and a scholarship was arranged for him. So he left his clerk's job and went to Cambridge and during a very brief period there did work of profound value and amazing originality. The Royal Society of England went rather out of their way and made him a Fellow, but he died two years later, probably of tuberculosis, at the age of 33. Professor Julian Huxley has, I believe, referred to him somewhere as the greatest mathematician of the century.

Ramanujam's brief life and death are symbolic of conditions in India. Of our millions how few get any education at all, how many live on the verge of starvation; of even those who get some education and have nothing to look forward to but a clerkship in some office on a pay that is usually far less than the unemployment dole in England. If life opened its gates to them and offered them food and healthy conditions of living and education and opportunities of growth, how many among these millions would be eminent scientists, educationists, technicians, industrialists, writers and artists, helping to build a new India and a new world?

The Discovery of India, pp. 253-4.

LOKAMANYA TILAK

Standing here and looking at the face of this indomitable warrior and scholar, I feel moved and I think of the century of struggle that this country has passed through, of the giants of old, who laid the foundations of the freedom of India, and above all, of Lokamanya . . .

In those crowded years of a life not too long lived he put in such exceptional energy, ability, strength and sacrifice that it seems a very long life. Time, after all, is not measured by

the passing of years but by what one does, what one feels and what one achieves. We have in Lokamanya a symbol of India's struggle for freedom, and the example of a man who was not only a brave soldier but a great captain, not a captain of some organized group but a captain who had to deal with an India which was rather amorphous, not well organized, and not even politically very conscious. To shake up people from their inertia and to bring about mass consciousness, mass awakening and the sense of struggle was, I think, primarily Lokamanya's task.

So here we find a man of great learning, with wide vision and far-reaching ideas. He writes about the philosophy of the *Gita*, and defines it as the Philosophy of Action. He writes about the Arctic home of the *Vedas*. See how his mind travels long distances. He was not a mere politician, but the necessities of the moment, the shame of living in a country that was not free, compelled this great scholar to become a statesman too and throw his weight, his energy and his ability into the struggle for freedom. This scholar of the elect became a mass leader and influenced more than one generation of our people . . .

In those early days there were some young men who in their spirit of anger and frustration took to the bomb or to individual acts of terrorism. Lokamanya saw that that was not the way to achieve success or strength in a country, but only the way of despair and frustration. And he raised his voice against it long before Gandhiji did so, and he directed people's mind therefore towards mass effort and mass struggle. He looked ahead, and he had a vision even in those days of a united India about which he spoke and wrote. His field of battle and of achievement was not a particular corner of India, but the whole of India. And so he laboured in prison and out of prison, as many of us, humbler folk, in our much more limited spheres, laboured subsequently. . . . It was an entirely different matter to be the one and only man to brave an Empire. To be a single person blazing the trail, not knowing who would follow, not knowing what would happen—that requires supreme courage which only the greatest of people possess. Lokamanya blazed the trail in so many directions for this country, laid the foundations of our struggle and brought in for the first time a mass consciousness. He could

imbue a whole people with dynamic energy because of his own unsurpassed dynamism . . .

India to the youth of that time was what had been presented by Tilak, through what he said and what he wrote, and, above all, what he suffered. That was the inheritance that Gandhiji had to start his vast movements with. If there had not been that moulding of the Indian people and India's imagination and India's youth by Lokamanya, it would not have been easy for the next step to be taken. Thus in this historical panorama we can see one great man after another coming and performing acts of destiny and history which have cumulatively led to the achievement of India's freedom. We meet here not only to unveil the picture of this great man, the Father of India's Revolution, but to remember him and to be inspired by him.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 486-9: from speech on the occasion of the unveiling of the portrait of Lokamanya Tilak in Parliament, New Delhi, July 28, 1956.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

History will record many things about him in its pages and call him the Builder and Consolidator of New India. But, perhaps, to many of us here he will be remembered as a great captain of our forces in the struggle for freedom, as one who gave us sound advice in times of trouble as well as in moments of victory, as a friend and colleague on whom one could invariably rely and as a tower of strength that revived wavering hearts.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 550: from a broadcast from All-India Radio, New Delhi, December 31, 1950.

KHAN ABDUL GHAFAR KHAN

During the second Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 the response from the Moslems was very considerable, though less than in 1920-23. Among those who were jailed in connection with this movement there were at least ten thousand Moslems. The North-West Frontier Province, which is an

almost entirely Moslem Province (95% Moslems) played a leading and remarkable part of this movement. This was largely due to the work and personality of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the unquestioned and beloved leader of the Pathans in this Province. Of all the remarkable happenings in India in recent times, nothing is more astonishing than the way in which Abdul Ghaffar Khan made his turbulent and quarrelsome people accept peaceful methods of political action, involving enormous suffering. That suffering was indeed terrible and has left a trail of bitter memories; and yet their discipline and self-control were such that no act of violence was committed by the Pathans against the Government forces or others opposed to them. When it is remembered that a Pathan loves his gun more than his brother, is easily excited, and has long had a reputation for killing at the slightest provocation, this self-discipline appears little short of miraculous.

The Discovery of India, p. 456.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The more I think of the wisdom of Gurudev the more astonished I am, even though I ought not to be. Long ago when many things that he said had not become current coin in this country, his analysis of the disease, if I may call it a disease, that was enervating India, and his way of seeking to cure it, stood out as remarkable prophecies of the shape of things to come. Three months before his death he wrote his famous essay 'Crisis in Civilization' from which a brief extract has been quoted by Professor Mahalanobis. I remember reading it when I was in prison, and I remember how powerfully I was affected. And I then wondered—as I do again listening to it now—how very intimately and precisely what Gurudev wrote in that essay is applicable today, perhaps even more so than when he wrote it. Because he was a seer he could see ahead things yet unborn. Here we are facing this crisis of civilization and people talk and act more and more in terms of might and the insolence of power; and others, afraid of power, line up behind that power. And the good things of life suffer, the very basis of a decent approach to life—call it religious, call it spiritual, call it scientific. They are sub-

merged in this deluge of hatred and violence and fear. . . . In the final analysis one has to rely on some kind of a basic faith in the future of man, to which again Gurudev made such frequent reference. Without that basic faith in something in man, it would be difficult enough to see or save a world which is drifting apparently towards an almost irretrievable disaster. And yet that basic faith gives one the strength to survive.

Creativeness, productiveness, a certain sincerity of purpose, a certain depth, are the very things on which here at Santiniketan and in Vishvabharati, Gurudev laid stress all the time. He emphasized those things to which enough attention is not paid in other institutions of learning. He wanted to provide the widest possible cultural background so that the narrowness of spirit and mind would be removed.

Speeches (1953-57), pp. 436-7: from Address at the Visvabharati Samavartana, Santiniketan, July 15, 1957.

K A M A L A N E H R U

My past life unrolled itself before me and there was always Kamala, standing by. She became a symbol of Indian women, or of woman herself. Sometimes she grew curiously mixed up with my ideas of India, that land of ours which was so dear to us, with all her faults and weaknesses, and so elusive and full of mystery. What was Kamala? Did I know her, understand her real self? Did she know or understand me? For I too was an abnormal person with mystery and unplumbed depths within me, which I could not myself fathom. Sometimes I had thought that she was a little frightened of me because of this. I had been and was a most unsatisfactory person to marry. Kamala and I were unlike each other in some ways, and yet in some other ways very alike; we did not complement each other. Our very strength became a weakness in our relations to each other. There could either be complete understanding, a perfect union of minds, or difficulties. Neither of us could live a humdrum domestic life, accepting things as they were.

Among the many pictures that were displayed in the bazaars in India, there was one containing two separate pic-

tures of Kamala and me, side by side, with the inscription at the top: the model or the ideal couple, as so many people imagined us to be, but the ideal is so terribly difficult to grasp or hold. I remember telling Kamala, during our holiday in Ceylon, how fortunate we had been in spite of difficulties and differences, in spite of all the tricks that life had played upon us. Marriage was an odd affair, and it had not ceased to be so even after thousands of years of experience. We saw around us the wrecks of many a marriage or, what was no better, the conversion of what was bright and golden into dross. How fortunate we were, I told her and she agreed, for though we had sometimes quarrelled and grown angry with each other, we had kept that vital spark alight, and for each one of us life was always unfolding new adventure and giving fresh insight into each other.

The Discovery of India, pp. 34-5.

LENIN

For many days Lenin's body lay in Moscow. It was winter and the body was preserved by chemical treatment. From all over Russia and the distant Siberian steppes came representatives of common folk, peasants and workers, men and women and children, to pay their last homage to that beloved comrade of theirs, who had pulled them out of the depths and pointed the way to a fuller life. They built him a simple and unadorned mausoleum in the beautiful Red Square of Moscow, and there his body lies still in a glass case, and every evening an unending procession passes silently by. Since he died, Lenin has become a mighty tradition, not only in his native Russia but in the world at large. As time passes he grows greater; he has become one of the chosen company of the world's immortals. Petrograd has become Lenin-grad, and almost every house in Russia has a Lenin corner or a Lenin picture. But he lives, not in monuments or pictures, but in the mighty work he did, and in the hearts of hundreds of millions of workers today who find inspiration in his example and the hope of a better day.

Do not imagine that Lenin was an inhuman kind of machine, wrapped up in his work and thinking of nothing else. Absolutely devoted to his work and life mission he cer-

tainly was, and at the same time wholly without self-consciousness; he was the very embodiment of an idea. And yet he was very human, with that most human of all traits, the capacity to laugh heartily. The British Agent in Moscow, Lockhart, who was there during the early perilous days of the Soviet, says that, whatever happened, Lenin was always in good humour. 'Of all the public figures I have ever met he possessed the most equable temperament', says this British diplomat. Simple and straight in his talk and his work, he was a hater of big words. He loved music, so much so that he was almost afraid that it might affect him too much and make him soft in his work.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, pp. 1032-3.

CHANAKYA

Chanakya has been called the Indian Machiavelli and to some extent the comparison is justified. But he was a much bigger person in every way, greater in intellect and action. He was no mere follower of a king, a humble adviser of an all-powerful Emperor. A picture of him emerges from an old Indian play—the *Mudra-Rakshasa*—which deals with this period. Bold and scheming, proud and revengeful, never forgetting a slight, never forgetting his purpose, availing himself of every device to delude and defeat the enemy, he sat with the reins of empire in his hands and looked upon the Emperor more as a loved pupil than as a master. Simple and austere in his life, uninterested in the pomp and pageantry of high position, when he had redeemed his pledge and accomplished his purpose, he wanted to retire, Brahmin-like, to a life of contemplation.

The Discovery of India, pp. 132-3.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

The person who really counted was Mr. Winston Churchill, the new Prime Minister. Mr. Churchill's views on Indian freedom were clear and definite and had been often repeated. He stood out as an uncompromising opponent of that freedom. In January 1930 he had said: 'Sooner or later you will have to crush Gandhi and the Indian Congress and all they

stand for.' In December of that year he said: 'The British nation has no intention whatever of relinquishing control of Indian life and progress. . . . We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the Crown of the King, which more than all our Dominions and Dependencies constitutes the glory and the strength of the British Empire . . .'

That was the crux of the question. India was the Empire; it was her possession and exploitation that gave glory and strength to England and made her a great power. Mr. Churchill could not conceive of England except as the head and possessor of a vast empire, and so he could not conceive of India being free . . .

We remembered his words and knew him to be a stout and uncompromising person. We could hope for little from England under his leadership. For all his courage and great qualities of leadership, he represented the nineteenth century, conservative, imperialist England and seemed to be incapable of understanding the new world with its complex problems and forces, and much less the future which was taking shape. And yet he was a big man who could take a big step. His offer of a union with France, though made at a time of dire peril, showed vision and adaptation to circumstances and had impressed India greatly. Perhaps the new position he occupied, with its vast responsibilities, had enlarged his vision and made him outgrow his earlier prejudices and conceptions. Perhaps the very needs of the war situation, which were paramount to him, would compel him to realize that India's freedom was not only inevitable but desirable from the point of view of the war. I remembered that when I was going to China in August 1939, he had sent me, through a mutual friend, his good wishes for my visit to that war-racked country.

The Discovery of India, pp. 529-30.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

I have never had any doubt about the ability and integrity of Jayaprakash Narayan whom I value as a friend and I am sure that a time will come when he will play a very

important part in shaping India's destiny.

Independence and After, p. 32: from a talk broadcast from New Delhi, February 14, 1948.

THE PILGRIM IN QUEST OF TRUTH

People will write the life of Gandhi and they will discuss and criticize him and his theories and activities. But to some of us, he will remain something apart from theory—a radiant and beloved figure who ennobled and gave significance to our petty lives and whose passing has left us with a feeling of emptiness and loneliness. Many pictures rise in my mind of this man, whose eyes were often full of laughter and yet were pools of infinite sadness. But the picture that is dominant and most significant is as I saw him marching, staff in hand, to Dandi on the Salt March in 1930. Here was the pilgrim on his quest for truth, quiet, peaceful, determined and fearless, who would continue that quiet pilgrimage, regardless of consequences.

Speeches (1949-53), p. 576: from Foreword to D. G. Tendulkar's 'MAHATMA'.

PAUL ROBESON

I am happy to know that an All India Committee has been formed under the distinguished chairmanship of Chief Justice Chagla to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Paul Robeson. This is an occasion which deserves celebration, not only because Paul Robeson is one of the greatest artists of our generation, but also because it reminds us that art and human dignity are above differences of race, nationality and colour. I send all my good wishes to Paul Robeson on this occasion and I trust that he will have many long years before him to enrich the world with his great art.

The Hindu, April 9, 1958: from a message sent on Paul Robeson's 60th Birthday Celebration to Mr. Chagla, Chairman, All India Committee, Bombay.

The Spirit of Man

THE SPIRIT OF MAN

How amazing is this spirit of man! In spite of innumerable failings, man, throughout the ages, has sacrificed his life and all he held dear for an ideal, for truth, for faith, for country and honour. That ideal may change, but that capacity for self-sacrifice continues; and, because of that, much may be forgiven to man, and it is impossible to lose hope for him. In the midst of disaster he has not lost his dignity or his faith in the values he cherished. Plaything of nature's mighty forces, less than the speck of dust in this vast Universe, he has hurled defiance at the elemental powers, and with his mind, cradle of revolution, sought to master them. Whatever gods there be, there is something god-like in man, as there is also something of the devil in him.

The future is dark, uncertain. But we can see part of the way leading to it, and can tread it with firm steps, remembering that nothing that can happen is likely to overcome the spirit of man which has survived so many perils.

The Discovery of India, p. 22.

We may be specks of dust on a soap-bubble universe, but that speck of dust contained something that was the mind and spirit of man. Through the ages this has grown and made itself master of this earth and drawn power from its innermost bowels as well as from the thunderbolt in the skies. It has tried to fathom the secrets of the universe and brought the vagaries of nature itself to its use. More wonderful than the earth and the heavens is this mind and spirit of man which grows ever mightier and seeks fresh worlds to conquer.

The Unity of India, p. 180.

EASTERN AND WESTERN CONCEPT OF MAN

When there are discussions on the concept of man as visual-

ized in the Eastern ideal or the Western ideal, they interest me greatly from a historical point of view and from a cultural point of view, although I have always resisted this idea of dividing the world into the Orient and the Occident. I do not believe in such divisions. There have, of course, been differences in racial and national outlook and in ideals but to talk of the East and the West as such has little meaning. The modern West, meaning thereby a great part of Europe and the Americas, has, more especially during the last 200 years or so, developed a particular type of civilization which is based on certain traditions derived from Greece and Rome. It is, however, the tremendous industrial growth that has made the West what it is. I can see the difference between an industrialized and a non-industrialized country. I think the difference, say, between India and Europe in the Middle Ages, would not have been very great and would have been comparable to the difference between any of the great countries of Asia today.

Speeches (1949-53), pp. 384-5: from Address at the UNESCO Symposium, New Delhi, December 20, 1951.

MORE HARMONY OF THOUGHT IN OLD DAYS

Probably there was more unity and harmony in the human personality in the old days, though this was at a lower level then, except for certain individuals who were obviously of a very high type. During this long age of transition, through which humanity has been passing, we have managed to break up that unity but have not so far succeeded in finding another. We cling still to the ways of dogmatic religion, adhere to outworn practices and beliefs, and yet talk and presume to live in terms of the scientific method. Perhaps science has been too narrow in its approach to life and has ignored many vital aspects of it and hence it could not provide a suitable basis for a new unity and harmony. Perhaps it is gradually broadening this basis now and we shall achieve a new harmony for the human personality on a much higher level than the previous one.

The Discovery of India, p. 203.

OUR AGE IS DIFFERENT

Our age is a different one; it is an age of disillusion, of doubt and uncertainty and questioning. We can no longer accept many of the ancient beliefs and customs; we have no more faith in them, in Asia or in Europe or in America. So we search for new ways, new aspects of the truth more in harmony with our environment. And we question each other and debate and quarrel and evolve any number of 'isms' and philosophies. As in the days of Socrates, we live in an age of questioning, but that questioning is not confined to a city like Athens; it is world-wide.

Glimpses of World History, Vol. II, p. 1502.

CHANGE

If we lose touch with the river of change and enter a backwater, become self-centred and self-satisfied, and, ostrich-like, ignore what happens elsewhere, we do so at our peril.

Autobiography, p. 448.

PROGRESS VERSUS SECURITY

There is perhaps a certain conflict always between the idea of progress and that of security and stability. The two do not fit in, the former wants a change, the latter a safe unchanging haven and a continuation of things as they are. The idea of progress is modern and relatively new even in the West; the ancient and mediaeval civilization thought far more in terms of a golden past and of subsequent decay. In India also the past has always been glorified. The civilization that was built up here was essentially based on stability and security, and from this point of view it was far more successful than any that arose in the West. The social structure, based on the caste system and joint families, served this purpose and was successful in providing social security for the group and a kind of insurance for the individual who by reason of age, infirmity or any other incapacity was unable to provide for himself. Such an arrangement while favouring the weak hinders, to some extent, the strong. It encourages the average type at the cost of the abnormal, the bad or the

gifted. It levels up or down and individualism has less play in it. It is interesting to note that while Indian philosophy is highly individualistic and deals almost entirely with the individual's growth to some kind of inner perfection, the Indian social structure was communal and paid attention to groups only. The individual was allowed perfect freedom to think and believe what he liked, but he had to conform strictly to social and communal usage.

The Discovery of India, p. 157.

A BALANCE MUST BE DISCOVERED

In India, and perhaps in other countries also, there are alternating tendencies for self-glorification and self-pity. Both are undesirable and ignoble. It is not through sentimentality and emotional approaches that we can understand life but by a frank and courageous facing of realities. We cannot lose ourselves in aimless and romantic quests unconnected with life's problems, for destiny marches on and does not wait for our leisure. Nor can we concern ourselves with externals only, forgetting the significance of the inner life of man. There has to be a balance, an attempt at harmony between them. 'The greatest good', wrote Spinoza in the seventeenth century, 'is the knowledge of the union which the mind has with the whole of nature. . . . The more the mind knows the better it understands its forces and the order of nature; the more it understands its forces or strength, the better it will be able to direct itself and lay down rules for itself; and the more it understands the order of nature, the more easily it will be able to liberate itself from useless things; this is the whole method.'

In our individual lives also we have to discover a balance between the body and the spirit, and between man as part of nature and man as part of society. 'For our perfection', says Tagore, 'we have to be vitally savage and mentally civilized; we should have the gift to be natural with nature and human with human society'. Perfection is beyond us for it means the end, and we are always journeying, trying to approach something that is ever receding. And in each one of us are many different human beings with their inconsistencies and contradictions, each pulling in a different direction. . . . It is

difficult to harmonize these contrary tendencies, and sometimes one of them is dominant and sometimes another.

The Discovery of India, pp. 684-5.

MAN NOT A MERE MOUTHPIECE OF A
DIVINE POWER

It has always seemed to me a much more magnificent and impressive thing that a human being should rise to great heights, mentally and spiritually, and should then seek to raise others up, rather than that he should be the mouthpiece of a divine or superior power. Some of the founders of religions were astonishing individuals, but all their glory vanishes in my eyes when I cease to think of them as human beings. What impresses me and gives me hope is the growth of the mind and spirit of man, and not his being used as an agent to convey a message.

The Discovery of India, p. 77.

THERE IS SOMETHING IMMORTAL IN MAN

For all our powers of reason and understanding and all our accumulated knowledge and experience, we know little enough about life's secrets, and can only guess at its mysterious processes. But we can always admire its beauty and, through art, exercise the god-like function of creation. Though we may be weak and erring mortals, living a brief and uncertain span of life, yet there is something of the stuff of the immortal gods in us. 'We must not', says Aristotle, 'obey those who urge us, because we are human and mortal, to think human and mortal thoughts; in so far as we may we should practise immortality, and omit no effort to live in accordance with the best that is in us'.

The Discovery of India, pp. 685-6.

Notes on Personalities

AZAD, MAULANA ABUL KALAM

A national leader of Indian Muslims, he played a prominent part in India's Freedom Struggle. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress more than once. He became Minister for education and culture in the Government of the Indian Union in 1952 and continued as such until his death.

CHANAKYA

Known also as Kautilya, he was the author of the famous classic of Indian political philosophy, *The Arthashastra*. The book was highly praised by western critics on the appearance of its first English translation in the beginning of this century.

DAS, DESABANDHU CHITTA RANJAN

An outstanding lawyer of Bengal, he acted as defence counsel in several famous Indian political trials, including that of Aurobindo Ghose, the Sage of Pondicherry. Das gave up his huge practice at the call of Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 and threw himself heart and soul into the Non-cooperation movement. He was co-founder of the Swarajist Party along with Motilal Nehru and died in 1925, after being gaoled more than once.

JANAKA

Janaka was the father of Sita, the heroine of the *Ramayana*.

JINNAH, M. A.

A prominent Muslim leader, he was originally in the Indian National Congress. Later when Mahatma Gandhi started his movement for liberating his countrymen, Jinnah seceded from the Congress and started the Muslim League. He was the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

KALIDASA

The greatest poet and dramatist in Sanskrit Literature; his play 'Sakuntala' earned the highest praise from Goethe. His works are worthy of being ranked with those of the immortals of the world's literature.

KHAN, ABDUL GHAFFAR

The acknowledged leader of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. He became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and accepted his creed of non-violence, becoming known as the 'Frontier Gandhi'. He courted imprisonment during India's struggle for liberty and is now a citizen of Pakistan.

LAKSHMI BAI, RANI OF JHANSI

One of the principal commanders who led the rebel armies against the British in the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857. She fought with conspicuous bravery at the head of her men and was killed fighting.

NARAYAN, JAYA PRAKASH

Many consider him Jawaharlal Nehru's successor, not only because of his services and sacrifices in the cause of Indian freedom but also because of his unchallenged integrity. Educated in the United States of America, he played a prominent part in India's struggle for emancipation. A man of high ideals and dauntless courage, he has now devoted himself to the cult of 'Bhoodan' propagated by Vinoba Bhave.

NEHRU, MOTILAL

Father of Jawaharlal Nehru. One of India's leading lawyers, he was a pillar of the Non-co-operation Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi for winning Swaraj (self-government) for India. Along with C. R. Das, he founded the Swaraj Party to fight the British Government from inside the Legislatures. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress in 1928. A man who lived a princely life, he was gaoled a number of times before his death in 1931.

PRASAD, RAJENDRA

A staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi since 1915 and a living example of his philosophy of life, who gave up a lucrative practice at the Bar and followed his master till India won freedom in 1947. His great humanitarian work after the earthquake of 1934 in Bihar earned him the honour of being the President of the Congress that year. He was elected President of the Indian Constituent Assembly in 1946 to frame a Constitution for India. He guided its deliberations with conspicuous ability and success. When India became a Republic on January 26, 1950 he was unanimously elected President. He continues in that exalted office, having been re-elected after his first term was over.

RAMANUJAM, SRINIVASA

An undergraduate of the Madras university, he has been called by G. H. Hardy, F.R.S., as 'perhaps, the most remarkable mathematician of modern times'. A petty clerk in the Port Trust Office, Madras, he was always interested in mathematical problems. His papers published in the Cambridge Mathematical Gazette attracted great interest as the work of a genius. The Government of India, on the recommendation of Mr. Hardy, gave him a scholarship and sent him to Cambridge to do research. His work there was highly appreciated and he was awarded the F.R.S., being the youngest recipient of it after Faraday. After his return to India he caught tuberculosis and died at the early age of 33 in 1920.

NEHRU, KAMALA

Wife of Jawaharlal Nehru. In spite of her delicate health she bravely played her part in the struggle for India's freedom, being gaoled more than once. The rigours of prison life told on her health and she caught tuberculosis. She was taken for treatment to Badenweiler in Germany, where she died in 1936.

SHANKARACHARYA

One of the greatest religious teachers of India, he was unrivalled as an expounder of Hindu religion and philosophy. He gained a mastery of the Hindu scriptures when he was a mere youth. He travelled all over India giving lectures and humbling the most famous scholars of his time from Cape Comorin to Kashmir. He established four monasteries at the four cardinal points of India to propagate his teachings which exist even today. His commentaries on the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita* are famous. A man of mighty intellect, he has dominated the life and thought of millions of his countrymen ever since his death at the comparatively early age of 32.

TILAK, LOKAMANYA BAL GANGADHAR

A great nationalist leader of India before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi, he dominated the Indian National Congress till he left it at its Surat session in 1907. A reputable Sanskrit scholar he wrote two famous works in gaol, 'The Gita Rahasya', which was an interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gita* and 'Orion' or 'The Antiquity of the Vedas'. His vast erudition was appreciated even in the West by savants like Max Muller, who joined in an appeal to Queen Victoria to release Tilak before the completion of his first term of imprisonment in Mandalay jail. Tilak was a mass leader and

founded two newspapers, 'The Mahratta' in English and the 'Kesari' in Marathi, which reached a phenomenal circulation. 'Swaraj is my birthright', declared Tilak and he suffered and sacrificed everything for it until his death on August 1, 1920.

SAROJINI NAIDU

She has been called the 'Nightingale of India'. When her poems written in English first appeared in the early years of this century, Edmund Gosse declared, 'She must be given a page in any book on English Literature'. She gave up poesy for politics and took an active part in Mahatma Gandhi's movement for India's freedom, even going to jail. After India became independent she was appointed Governor of Uttar Pradesh and died in office in 1949.

RAMACHANDRA

Also known as Sri Rama, he is one of the *avatars* of Hinduism. To keep the word of his father Dasaratha inviolate, Sri Rama gave up his right to the throne on the eve of his coronation and went away to the forests of Dandakaranya for fourteen years. During his exile his wife Sita, who shared his sufferings, was carried away by Ravana, King of Lanka. Sri Rama defeated Ravana in a great war, brought back Sita and was crowned king at Ayodhya. Sri Rama is considered to be an ideal king by Hindus and he is the hero of Valmiki's epic, *The Ramayana*.

PATEL, SARDAR VALLABHBHAI

The most renowned and redoubtable lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi in India's fight for independence, he was a great organizer and leader of the masses. After the withdrawal of the British from India on August 15, 1947 he welded and integrated the princely states, more than 500 in number and in different stages of autocracy and feudalism, into the Union of India in a peaceful manner. Far greater than Bismarck to whom he has been compared because of this achievement, he was a man of iron will and was a tower of strength to Jawaharlal Nehru in the governance of the country. He died in December 1949, mourned by the entire sub-continent.

VISVESVARAYYA, SIR M.

India's greatest engineer, he has travelled all over the world to study conditions in other countries, in order to adapt their methods to make India great industrially. About 30 years ago he wrote a remarkable book, 'Reconstructing India', which contains a wealth of suggestions for raising India to the level of the great-

est Western nations. He celebrated the centenary of his birth in 1960.

YAJNAVALKA

An ancient Hindu sage and law-giver, whose work *Yajnavalka Smriti* is still authoritative as a source of Hindu Dharma and law.

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